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JUSTINIAN AND HIS MINISTERS WITH BISHOP MAXIMIAN SIGNALIZE THE RECONQUEST OF ITALY

It was Justinian who put the finishing touches to San Vitale. The mosaics in the choir show him, with his empress Theodora, making dedicatory offerings. He is attended by his armed bodyguard and civil ministers, while S. Maximian, bishop of Ravenna, is almost as conspicuous.

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VOLUME FIVE

Pages 1237-1546

THE BYZANTINE AGE

476-1152

New York

WISE & CO.

MCMXXXIX

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Fourth Era

THE BYZANTINE AGE

476—1073

CHRONICLE XIV—East and West in Ferment, 476-632

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With the final break-up of the Roman Empire—the 'world state' that had given a certain homogeneity to history in the West for more than half a thousand years—a period of confusion set in, of destruction and reconstruction, of the stirring of new forces. It is often known as the Dark Ages, but the obscurity is due not so much to any lack of historical material as to the difficulty of finding connecting threads amid the tangle of warring purposes. In western Europe the outstanding movements are the consolidation of the Teutonic invaders into nationalities on the wreckage of the old Roman provinces, the rise of the Papacy, the birth of the Holy Roman Empire under Charlemagne and its re-birth under Otto the Great, and the endless struggle of the two partners to the theory, temporal and spiritual; in the East the appearance of Islam and its conquering advance outweigh all other events. But there is one element of continuity that provides a double link, between past and future, between East and West, and has accordingly been chosen to name our Fourth Era: the Byzantine Empire, heir of the Roman traditions and Europe's bulwark against Islam.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XIV

A.D.

476 End of the Western Roman Empire.
477 Restoration of Zeno; fall of Basiliscus.
Recognition of Odoacer as patrician in Italy.
478 War of Zeno with Ostrogoths, under King Theodoric the Amal and Theodoric Strabo; to 482.
481 Clovis (Chlodwig) the Merwing becomes king of the Salian Franks, and begins the subjugation of north and central Gaul.
482 Zeno's Henoticon; breach with Roman Church.
483 Theodoric recognized as master of the soldiers.
486 Clovis subjects Ripuarian Franks and extirpates other branches of the Merwing family.
489 Theodoric invades Italy to oust Odoacer.
491 Odoacer, defeated, holds out at Ravenna.
Anastasius succeeds Zeno (to 518).
493 Odoacer capitulates and is assassinated.
Theodoric king of Italy, nominally viceroy.
Clovis, a pagan, marries the Christian princess, Clothilda of Burgundy.
498 Burgundian war of Clovis.
Kobad restores monarchical power in Persia.
c. 500 *India:* White Huns invade Punjab. Break up of Gupta Empire. Start of Rajput clan-traditions.
502 Persian war of Anastasius.
507 Clovis in alliance with Burgundy attacks Visigoths in Aquitaine. Alaric II, killed.
508-510 Theodoric intervenes, checks Clovis.
511 Clovis dies. Quadruple division of Frank dominion between his sons. Eastward expansion and development of Austrasian kingdom under Theuderich, to 533, and Theudebert to 548.
518 Justin I succeeds Anastasius at Constantinople. Henoticon withdrawn.
520 English checked in Britain at Mt. Badon.
524 Death of the philosopher Bœthius.
526 Theodoric dies. Athalaric king.
527 Accession and marriage of Justinian.
529 Justinian's Code, First Edition.
530 Persian incursions. Victory of Belisarius at Daras.
531 Theudis elected king of Visigoths.
532 Nika Riots; suppressed by Belisarius.
Peace with Persia.
Burgundy annexed by the sons of Clovis.
533 Belisarius obliterates the Vandal kingdom.
Justinian's Pandects (Digest) and Institutes.
534 Justinian's revised Code.
535 Amalaswintha murdered by Theodahad.
Belisarius in Sicily.
536 Theodahad killed; Wittiges elected.
Belisarius captures and holds Rome.
537 Wittiges besieges Rome; Franks invade N. Italy.
538 Wittiges buys off Franks by ceding Roman Provence.
539 Belisarius besieges Wittiges in Ravenna.
540 Fall of Ravenna. Belisarius leaves Italy.
541 Chosroes invades Syria and sacks Antioch.
Goths led by Totila begin reconquest of Italy.
Chosroes transfers the Persian war to Colchis.
542 General paralysis caused by the Great Plague.
544 Belisarius sent with feeble force to Italy.
545 Five years' truce with Persia.
546 Totila captures and evacuates Rome.
547 Belisarius reoccupies Rome.
548 Belisarius recalled. Totila dominates Italy.
Theudis killed in Spain; rival Visigoth kings.
550 Justinian's troops occupy Andalusia.
Third Persian war.
552 Narses sent to recover Italy. Fall of Totila at battle of Taginæ.

A.D.

Introduction of silk-worms from China.
553 Last stand and annihilation of the Ostrogoths.
554 Narses shatters a Frank invasion.
555 Narses rules Italy from Ravenna.
558 Chlothar (last surviving son of Clovis), king of all the Franks.
561 End of Persian war.
Frank kingdom divided between Chlothar's four sons.
565 Deaths of Justinian and Belisarius.
Justin II emperor.
566 Avars and Lombards on the Danube.
Marriage of the Visigoth sisters Brunhild and Galswintha to Sigibert and Chilperic.
567 Chilperic murders Galswintha and marries Fredegonde; seventeen years of civil war.
568 The Lombards under Alboin invade Italy.
569 Birth of Mahomet.
571 Leovigild king of Visigoths till 586. He drives the Romans to the coast and practically subjugates all Spain, defeats a Frank attack, and masters the nobles.
571 Persian war renewed.
578 Emperor Tiberius succeeds Justin II.
582 Emperor Maurice succeeds Tiberius.
584 Authari elected Lombard king.
Chilperic killed; Guntram of Burgundy dominant.
586 Reccared king of Visigoths. He abandons Arianism for Orthodox Christianity; Arianism dies out, leading to development of ecclesiastical ascendancy, and rivalry of the churchmen and nobles.
590 Gregory the Great, pope; to 604.
591 Accession of Chosroes II in Persia, by help of Emperor Maurice. End of Persian war.
593 Death of Guntram. Brunhild in Austrasia.
595 Wars of Maurice with Avars.
596 Kent Christianized by mission of Augustine.
602 Mutiny of Phocas; Maurice killed.
604 Death of Gregory the Great.
606 Chosroes II invades Syria.
Continuous expansion of Persian power.
India: Rise of Empire under Harsha.
609 Revolt of Heraclius the elder in Africa.
610 Phocas is overthrown by the younger Heraclius, who is proclaimed emperor.
Mahomet's Vision and Call as Prophet of Allah.
613 Mahomet's first converts at Mecca.
614 Chlothar II king of all the Franks. Rise of the mayors of the palace.
Chosroes completes conquest of Syria.
616 Persian conquest of Egypt.
620 Persians overrun Asia Minor.
621 The Eastern Empire devotes itself to a Holy War headed by Heraclius.
622 Mahomet and his Companions withdraw from hostile Mecca to Medina; the "Hijra" (Hejira) dating the Year One of the Mahomedan Era.
First Persian campaign of Heraclius, who drives a wedge between the Persian forces in Asia Minor and Syria.
623 Mahomet resolves to propagate Islam by the sword.
623-627 Victorious campaigns of Heraclius in and beyond Mesopotamia.
626 Persians and Avars besieging Constantinople are completely repulsed.
627 Decisive victory of Heraclius at Nineveh.
Mahomet's letter to Heraclius.
628 Mahomet comes to terms with Mecca.
Fall of Chosroes; end of Persian War; Roman possessions restored.
630 Final submission of Mecca.
631 Mahomet designs the conquest of Syria.
632 Death of Mahomet. Accession of Abu Bekr as first khalif.

EAST AND WEST IN FERMENT: 476—632

In A.D. 476 ended the twelve months' nominal reign of the last phantom emperor of the Western Roman Empire, when Romulus Augustulus was deposed by the Herulian or Scirian Odoacer, disappearing into a peaceful obscurity. Technically, no change had occurred in the imperial constitution; actually, the date marks a stage in the disintegration of a great world empire.

"Patrician" was the official title claimed by Odoacer as an imperial officer from the emperor Zeno. It was not a title which carried with it specific functions; but practically it meant that the Augustus who conferred it conferred with it vice-regal powers; in the case of Odoacer, the vice-royalty of Italy and Noricum. The title of king which Odoacer also used was derived not from the emperor but from Odoacer's election to this dignity by his miscellaneous Teutonic host.

At the moment when Odoacer deposed Romulus, the emperor Zeno was fighting for his crown with the usurper Basiliscus. That revolt had been crushed when in the following year, 477, the deputation arrived from Rome; not to inform him of the election of a new Augustus, but to desire his ratification of the election of Flavius Odoacer as his own lieutenant in the West, a second Augustus being superfluous. Zeno promptly acceded. He was in no position to refuse recognition to the de facto ruler; the West must take care of itself; and it could at any rate do no harm if the ruler chose to call himself the subordinate instead of the colleague of the Augustus at Constantinople.

In that same year, 477, died Geiseric. He was succeeded by his son Hunneric, who was his peer in iniquity, but not in ability. Under him and his successors the Vandal kingdom survived the death of its founder for 57 years, to be obliterated as it deserved in A.D. 533.

When Basiliscus in 475 ejected Zeno and snatched the diadem, he did it by the aid of Teutonic mercenaries, whose commander was the Ostrogothic soldier of fortune Theodoric, called Strabo—the wall-eyed or one-eyed. When Zeno came back with his Isaurians and suppressed the futile Basiliscus in 477, Theodoric Strabo retired with his troops into the Balkan mountains, and invited Zeno to make him his master of the soldiers or take the consequences.

The Ostrogoths have hitherto played only a fleeting part in our story. They had fallen under the sway of Attila. But on Attila's death in 453 they recovered their independence, like the rest of his Teutonic dependents. They had come down to the Danube, and then, on the Visigothic precedent, they had been admitted to settle within the borders of the Empire, en masse, in Mœsia. The Visigoths had to content themselves with a king of the house of the Balts; the Amals, god-descended, still reigned among the Ostrogoths; and at this critical hour their king was the youthful but already famous warrior, Theodoric the Amal. To him, since a rival Ostrogothic leader could hardly be to his taste, Zeno turned for aid in the suppression of Theodoric Strabo.

It was a risky game. The old fox very soon persuaded the young lion that their business was to unite, not to fight each other. So Zeno and young Theodoric came to terms, the Ostrogoth being made master of the soldiers, and receiving fresh grants of land for his followers.

Then came the revolt of a certain Leontius in Syria, who appealed for aid to the Persian king Balas, and to Odoacer. Before the aid which was promised could arrive, Zeno had crushed the rebellion by the help of Theodoric. But such a helper was dangerous; the attitude of Odoacer was menacing. All might be well if the two could be embroiled.

In 488 Zeno matured his plan. Like Alaric, Theodoric was more than ready to exchange Mœsia for Italy. The emperor dismissed his disloyal lieutenant in the West, and appointed the trusty king of the Ostrogoths in his place.

Odoacer had been ruling Italy for a dozen years with an unquestioned sway, when his authority was denounced by the same emperor from whom he had demanded and received it. He was a strong man and a wise man, who did what he had to do and attempted nothing beyond the reasonable range of achievement. What he had to do was to establish peace and order in Italy, where ten different emperors had been pulled down and set up in the course of twenty-one years; and to secure the north and north-eastern Alpine frontiers, Rætia, Noricum and—as belonging to Italy—western Dalmatia. To this end he had to preserve the loyalty of the miscellaneous host which had elected him king; and this could only be done at the expense of the native Italians who, at least since the days of Stilicho, had resented the domination of a barbarian soldiery, and had more than once or twice, when a convenient opportunity offered, displayed their resentment by massacres.

With Gaul and Spain Odoacer did not greatly concern himself. In fact, he was content to maintain friendly relations with Euric and his successor Alaric II, the kings of the Visigoths, and Gundobad, king of the Burgundians. Euric had already extended his effective dominion over the greater part of Spain as well as Aquitaine. Gundobad had established himself on the Saône and the upper Rhône; and Odoacer had no compunction in ceding to Euric the seaboard of the Gulf of the Lions. A Roman, Syagrius, was still holding together central Gaul, but the north-west had gone, and the north-east was already passing under the domination of the Salian Franks, whose habitat was between the Scheldt river and the Somme river.

In Rætia, however, the Rugians, after the scattering of the Huns, had established themselves with aggressive designs. Against them Odoacer sent a force which shattered their power but evacuated the territory, bringing back the inhabitants—by their own desire—to be settled in less disturbed quarters on Italian soil. Odoacer wanted to recover western Dalmatia, but the ex-emperor Julius Nepos was established there by the authority of Leo I and of Zeno; it was not till Nepos was assassinated in 480 that the Patrician was able to annex it to his dominion.

ODOACER had no thought of acquiescing in his deposition. In fact, when Theodoric marched against him he offered a magnificent resistance. The odds were all in favor of the younger man, who was an ideal leader, at the head of an armed nation, with a tradition of national kingship and the precedent of Alaric to urge it on. Italy, apart from the army, had no love for Odoacer, and owed allegiance not to him but to the emperor whom he was defying. His own men were for the most part loyal, but the Goths among them could only be half-hearted. Thrice his forces were beaten in the field in 489; yet he held out in the almost impregnable Ravenna for a year and a half after he was finally driven behind its walls in 491. The end came when the place was starved out, and Theodoric committed the one act of treachery which stains his fame. Odoacer capitulated on the offer of generous terms, and was assassinated immediately after his surrender.

A year before the fall of Ravenna, Zeno died. During his reign the Balkan peninsula had been devastated and very largely depopulated first by the Ostrogothic war, and then by the departure of the Ostrogoths; but it offered no very tempting bait to the Slavs and non-Aryan tribes from the region of the Volga—the Bulgarians—who were swarming down to the Danube again. When the Goths were gone, there was probably a considerable and continuous infiltration of the former, and an occasional raid by the latter, but no serious invasion for some time to come. The peace of Asia Minor and Syria had been disturbed by the insurrections of Basiliscus and Leontius, but there was no threat of a permanent disruption of the Empire in the East such as was taking place in the West.

Zeno died leaving no obvious heir, and without having appointed a successor. An eminently wise choice, mainly influenced by Zeno's widow, Ariadne, bestowed the diadem on Anastasius, an experienced official of the highest character, and universally and deservedly respected. He was already fifty-three on his accession (491); but he lived and reigned, to the great benefit of the empire till 518.

Theodoric (A.D. 455-526) was thirty-eight years old when the death of Odoacer left him undisputed king of Italy—the title which he assumed—in 493. His reign

SHIFTING BOUNDARIES OF ROMAN AND TEUTON POWERS IN THE AGE OF THEODORIC, CLOVIS AND JUSTINIAN

The resounding exploits of the confused period covered in the present chapter were the establishment of the Ostrogothic kingdom of Theodoric the Amal in Italy (488-91); the destruction of the Vandal kingdom by Belisarius in 533; the eviction of the Ostrogoths from Italy by him and his successor Narses, with the resulting brilliant but hollow expansion of the Eastern Roman Empire; and the intermittent hostilities between the Empire and Persia. More important, though less spectacular, was the Frank advance under Clovis.

of thirty-three years places him among the great rulers of men; though most of his work perished after his death, since there was no second Theodoric to bring it to completion.

By this time the king of the Salian Franks on the north-eastern frontier of what had already ceased to be Roman Gaul had begun his aggressive advance. Clovis is the name by which everyone knows Chlodwig (Ludwig, Lewis) the Merovingian (Merwing), the first king of France. The clans drew their chiefs or kings from the royal family of Merwings. In 481, Clovis succeeded his father Childeric in one of these kingships on the river Scheldt; when the mighty Visigothic king Euric was at the height of his power. In 485, Euric died and was succeeded by his young son Alaric II. Euric would probably have made short work of Clovis, who, in conjunction with his kinsmen, began a career of aggression, being one and twenty.

THEODORIC THE OSTROGOTH

Zeno's diplomacy turned the energies of Theodoric the Ostrogoth from the Balkans to Italy, where, crushing Odoacer, he set up a brilliant Ostrogothic kingdom (491).

British Museum

The Franks fell upon Syagrius, patrician of central Gaul. The Visigoths under existing circumstances were not disposed to come to the rescue. In the next four or five years, Clovis conquered most of northern Gaul, and proceeded to consolidate his personal position by the wholesale suppression of the Merovingian kings of the other clans. The next step was to make himself king of the other group of Franks on the Rhine, to harry the Alemanni out of the neighboring territory, and to make friends with the Burgundian Gundobad, whom he did not as yet wish to challenge.

Instead, he married Gundobad's niece, who, curiously, happened to be not an Arian but an orthodox Christian; with the natural consequence that in 476 the heathen Clovis and his Franks were baptized into the orthodox Faith. All the other Christian German kings were Arians, not orthodox Christians.

By dint of embracing Catholic orthodoxy, Clovis enlisted on the side of the Franks—as against the Arian Goths and Burgundians—all the Latin populations and all the influence of the Church which looked to the pope, the bishop of Rome, as its head.

Clovis now thought himself strong enough to attack Gundobad; but after the first surprise got soundly beaten and hastened to obtain a reconciliation. For his eyes were turning to Alaric and the Visigothic kingdom, on which, after an experimental move in 504, frustrated by the king of Italy, he opened his attack in 507, in conjunction with Gundobad.

When Clovis did attack Alaric, his excuse—in spite of his alliance with Gundobad—was the Arian Alaric's persecution of his Catholic subjects. Clovis marched on Aquitaine, Gundobad on Provence. When Clovis died in 511, his conquests had laid the foundations for the French monarchy.

On his accession, Theodoric satisfied his Ostrogoths mainly if not entirely with the land vacant by the fall of so many of Odoacer's followers. The Ostrogoths and other Germans, planted on the soil, lived under their own Germanic laws; the Italians under the Roman law administered by Italian officials, as under the old system; mixed tribunals adjudicated upon cases in which the parties were mixed. He allowed neither race nor creed to stand in the way of any man's advancement; he sent the Roman Liberius to Arles, because he was the best man; Italians as well as Goths had places on his councils.

Theodoric was, of course, an Arian, but the Orthodox had nothing to complain of except that Arians were not repressed. He protected the unpopular Jews as sternly as the Christians; he repudiated persecution on the ground that no man can be compelled really to believe what he is told to say he believes. His financial organization materially relieved the burden of taxation and, at the same time, filled the treasury.

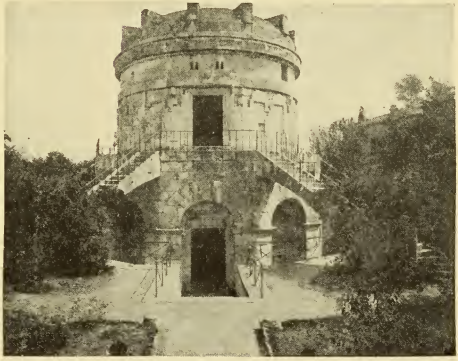
He was the ablest soldier of the day, but after his accession he waged no war which was not almost forced upon him. He inaugurated his reign in Italy by a crime; at the close of his long life he became suspicious and stained his name by acts of cruel tyranny; but not by these aberrations must he be judged.

Theodoric was past seventy when he died. The son-in-law whom he had chosen to be his successor died before him, and his heirs—for he had no son—were his daughter, Amalaswintha, and her young son, Athalaric. The fabric of which Theodoric had laid the foundations was doomed never to be builded. His rule over the Italians, however able and just, was the rule of an alien who was also a heretic; and the Ostrogoths were too turbulent to be ruled by any hand less firm than that of the great king now dead.

Anastasius died, an old man, after a highly creditable reign, eight years before Theodoric, in 518. His rule had been that of a sound and experienced administrator, and he had done his best to calm the theological animosities which were reproduced in the civil factions of the Eastern capital. He concerned himself with the West only when Theodoric's activities in Illyria involved him in a boundary dispute with his powerful lieutenant. Thrace and Mœsia were vexed by Bulgarian raids from across the Danube, and Anastasius built a great defensive wall fifty miles long to hold the raiders in check.

He left a well-filled treasury, but no heir, and the diadem was unexpectedly secured by an elderly Illyrian officer, Justin, the respectable uncle of a very remarkable nephew, Justinian, who succeeded him in 527, the year after Theodoric's death. Justin continued the safe policy of his predecessor. He was the first of the emperors since the extinction of the line of Theodosius who thoroughly satisfied the Catholic party; and he would have persecuted the Arians, but for a threat from Theodoric of reprisals against the orthodox in the West.

Justin was an old soldier who had served in the imperial armies for some fifty years. At the end of his nine years' rule he associated with himself on the throne his nephew Justinian (A.D. 527-565), who was then between thirty-five and forty, and had been practically his colleague throughout the reign. Justinian on his accession was already thoroughly conversant with the whole system of administration. He had just scandalized society by marrying a lowly-born dancer, Theodora, whose reputation was notorious; but her loyalty to her spouse after the marriage never wavered, nor did her influence over him wane; and once at least it was her unfaltering courage that saved him from disaster at a dangerous crisis.



REMINDER OF THEODORIC AT RAVENNA

The most tangible relic of Theodoric's splendid reign that still exists at his capital, Ravenna, is his mausoleum, a rotunda with a monolithic roof weighing some 300 tons.

Photo, Alinari

Justinian's permanent legacy to the world was his great codification of Roman law, which became the basis of almost all the legal systems in Europe. But this was only, from his point of view, a part of his vast scheme for raising the Roman Empire to an unprecedented height of power and magnificence; a scheme which involved an expenditure on war and on splendor,

especially in building, which wrecked the financial resources of the Empire; a consummation materially advanced by the great pestilence of A.D. 542, which was as disastrous as the Black Death eight centuries later.

Justinian could scarcely perhaps have avoided his Persian wars; his suppression

MOST POWERFUL EMPEROR OF THE EAST

Justinian, in whose reign the Eastern Empire was at its height, is commemorated by mosaics at Ravenna. This (an old photograph taken before recent wholesale restorations) is in the Basilica of S. Apollinare Nuovo. Another, in S. Vitale, shows Justinian with his wife Theodora.

Photo, Alinari

of the Vandal kingdom was more than justified, though in any case it could hardly have survived much longer; but his reconquest of Italy benefited neither the East nor the West.

The first Persian war was forced upon Justinian in the year following his accession, 528. It brought into prominence Belisarius (505-565), the brilliant soldier to whom the emperor was mainly indebted for the military glories of his reign. The power of the Sassanid dynasty in Persia, revived under Kobad, who had fought a drawn battle with Anastasius. Now, after twenty years of peace, he renewed his aggression and invaded Mesopotamia. Nothing of a decisive character occurred till 530. Belisarius, the very young officer in command of the forces on the frontier, had previously only been able to stand on guard; but in that year he routed a much larger Persian force, in what resolved itself into a great cavalry engagement, by tactics which recall the battle of Marathon, where there was no cavalry, and the tactics of Hannibal at Cannæ. Kobad died next year, and his son Chosroes (Khusru), as yet insecurely seated on the throne, made peace.

The Vandals in Africa, even when Geiseric's power was at its height, had never been more than an armed garrison in the midst of a wide and intensely hostile, if defenseless, country. Since Geiseric's death their enemies had been gathering strength, though they still held their domination by sheer brute force, and the usurper, Geilamir, who seized the crown in 530, had replied with singular insolence to the protest of Justinian. There was warrant enough for drastic action.

The emperor, however, was at the moment not yet free from the Persian entanglement; and just then the capital broke out in what is known in history as the Nika insurrection. The rebellion was utterly crushed; the unlucky figurehead was himself beheaded with his brother; a truce with Persia followed the death of Kobad; and in 533 Belisarius surprised the unexpected Vandals by landing in Africa —though his force numbered only fifteen thousand men. The Vandal force on the spot was routed before Carthage, which joyfully hailed the victor as a deliverer. Geilamir retreated to the West and gathered the forces which there had not been time to collect at first, while every city was flinging open its gates to Belisarius. The decisive battle was fought in December at Tricameron, where the Vandals were virtually annihilated; and though Geilamir escaped he soon realized that a further struggle was hopeless, and surrendered himself—to be relegated to an easy retirement in Phrygia. But the Vandal kingdom was wiped off the face

of the earth. Belisarius with fifteen thousand men had succeeded where the vast armaments of Leo I had failed ignominiously.

He returned in triumph to Constantinople, to make ready for a fresh task.

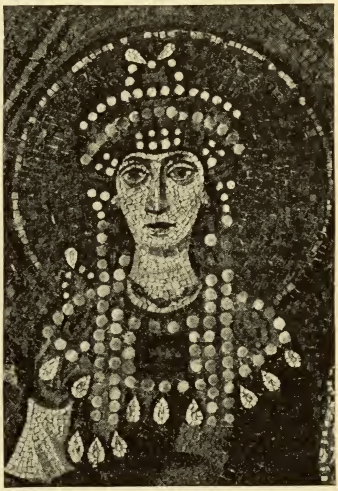
Chaos in Italy followed after the death of Theodoric, giving Justinian the warrant for intervention. The Goths were ready to fight against any intervention; and in 535 Belisarius with a small force landed in Sicily.

Theodoric had given the Italians admirably just and firm government, but they had never been able to reconcile themselves to the fact that the power was in the hands of aliens and Arians. The Goths were said to have 100,000 fighting men in the country, but the entire Italian population was on the side of the imperialist invaders, while the Goths themselves were paralyzed by the inaction of their king Theodahad. In Sicily Belisarius was welcomed instead of being opposed. In the next spring he advanced through South Italy with seven thousand men, meeting no resistance till he reached Naples, while fifty thousand Goths lay about Rome. Then the Gothic army in despair deposed Theodahad, who was promptly murdered by a private enemy; and, as there was no Amal left, they elected as king Witiges, a valiant but stupid old warrior who had forgotten anything of generalship that he may once have known.

Belisarius with his small force pounced on Rome, which the garrison evacuated in a panic as he entered it. Reinforcements were denied him, but he held on to the capital.

After three years of campaigning, Witiges, shut up in Ravenna, would have accepted the generous terms offered by Justinian. The Goths would not have it, and actually offered the crown to Belisarius, who, without accepting it, beguiled them into opening the gates to him; whereupon he took possession in the name of Justinian. When Ravenna fell it seemed an easy matter to complete the conquest; and Belisarius was recalled to take up the command against the Persians, with whom a second war had broken out.

WITIGES had, in fact, thought too late of creating a diversion by inciting the Persian to make an attack. Ravenna was on the point of falling when Chosroes in 540 flung himself on northern Syria, where he was not expected, and captured Antioch, whence he carried off great spoils. In the spring of 541, Witiges was a captive and Belisarius was in Mesopotamia; but Chosroes was far away, more profitably employed in overrunning the trans-Caucasian province of Colchis than in giving battle to Belisarius, who was



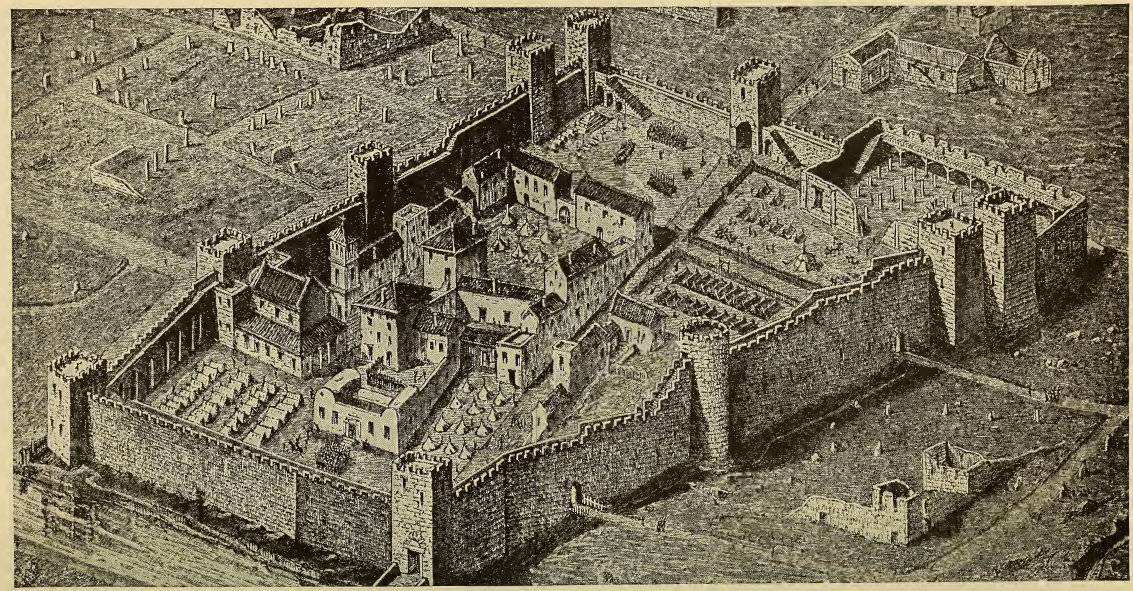
ACTRESS CONSORT OF JUSTINIAN

The mosaic of which this forms a part is in the Basilica of S. Vitale, Ravenna, and shows Theodora, the plaything of all Constantinople, the actress and courtesan, who rose to be the empress of Justinian.

Photo, Alinari

awaiting an attack that was not delivered. Next year both armies were paralyzed by an abnormally severe outbreak of the plague. In 543 Belisarius was recalled from the East to take up once more the western command from which he had been transferred; his successor met with reverses, and in 545 a five-years' truce was patched up with Chosroes.

The fall of Ravenna had not disposed of the Goth problem. The stubborn-garrison at Pavia held out and proclaimed



ONE OF THE FORTRESSES THROUGH WHICH CONSTANTINOPLE RULED AFRICA

After Belisarius had reconquered Africa from the Vandals and restored it to the Roman Empire—the Eastern Empire, that is—it was ruled by a succession of officers appointed from Constantinople. There were the Prefects of the Præfecture of Africa on the civil side, and the Magistri Militum ("masters of the soldiery") later replaced by exarchs (591): corrupt incompetents, many of them, whose only duty was to squeeze as much taxation as possible out of the land for Justinian's deplenished treasury. This is a reconstruction of the Byzantine fortress at Haidra on the borders of the modern Tunisia and Algeria.

From Diehl, "L'Afrique byzantine"

a new king, Hildebad. Half a dozen imperial generals had been left in Italy, each with an independent command; they could not or would not coöperate, and the Goths rallied to the capable Hildebad, who recovered the plain of the Po. He was assassinated in 541, but a fresh champion arose—his nephew Baduila, better known as Totila, first of the knights of the Middle Ages, one of the rare heroes on whose name no stain has ever fastened; one who was more than worthy to be the successor of Theodoric.

The Italians might anathematize the Goths, but would not fight them. By the end of 542 Totila had routed the imperial armies in the field wherever he met them, had driven them all into a few fortified towns—Rome, Ravenna and some others—and was in effect master of Italy once more from north to south. He held his men in hand as resolutely as a Henry V or a Louis IX, protecting the population from all violence, and treating the garrisons that resisted him with a magnanimity of which the Plantagenet never dreamed. Belisarius had fallen woefully out of favor with Justinian and Theodora, but he was needed to cope with Totila. So in 543, as we have seen, he was sent again to Italy. But he was never given a fair chance by his master. Instead of his devoted veterans he was allowed only a meager force of raw recruits with which to fight the Goths, whose shaken morale had been thoroughly restored by a leader of brilliant ability and inspiring personality. Belisarius could gain no decisive advantage. In 545 Totila laid siege to Rome; Belisarius vainly attempted to relieve it, and it fell in 546. Totila removed the population and dismantled the defenses. Justinian would send neither the men nor the money needed. Two years later the great captain was recalled at his own request, and it seemed that Totila's ultimate triumph was all but certain. Belisarius had reoccupied and refortified Rome before his departure; but when he was gone Totila took it again.

Justinian was now at war with Persia for the third time. Nevertheless in 552 he made a great effort in the West which was crowned with unexpected success. He gave the Italian command to his chamberlain, the eunuch Narses, to whom he supplied the troops he had persistently withheld from Belisarius. The long struggle had depleted the Gothic army. Marching on Rome with a somewhat superior force, Narses brought Totila to a decisive engagement at Taginæ.

Totila and his brother were slain and the Gothic army was all but annihilated. The Ostrogothic power was no more. Narses was still called upon to deal with a destructive Frankish incursion in North Italy, where he completely wiped out the whole invading force. But the ceaseless struggle which had been waged for twenty years had destroyed what might have become a regenerating force, and had left Italy depopulated and desolated; and the ruin was in no wise compensated by the reëstablishment of the shadow of an imperial government under an "exarch" at Ravenna. There was no effective attempt at rehabilitation.

Incidentally, Justinian sought to restore the imperial authority in Spain, where some cities were secured, occupied and garrisoned with imperial troops. The third Persian war was exclusively a struggle to recover Colchis, which the Persians had retained at the truce. Finally the peace of 555 restored it, in return for a substantial indemnity.

Justinian and Belisarius died in the same year, 565. The story that the old general was reduced to a pitiful beggary in his last days is happily mythical. The imperial succession passed undisputed to Justinian's nephew, Justin II.

When Clovis was mastering Gaul, the Visigothic kingdom had been preserved in Spain under the aegis of Theodoric. Theudis, the king he had appointed held his own till his death in 548. The dissolution of the Gothic kingdom was arrested in the reigns of two very capable rulers, Leovigild (568-586) and Reccared (586-601).

Leovigild, a very capable soldier, thoroughly established his personal ascendancy over the nobles, smote the minor Suevic kingdoms, and recovered Andalusia, which had been occupied by Justinian's officers. He dealt successfully, as only a strong man could deal, with one of the two great stumbling-blocks which prevented the development of a strong kingdom, the independence of the nobles. But he only accentuated the other, the impossibility of reconciling the Catholic clergy and the Catholic population to the traditional Arianism of the dominant

people. The Arianism of the Goths was bound up with their pride of race, and the religious intensified the racial antagonism.

LEOVIGILD'S son Reccared during his father's life gave no hint of the revolutionary project which he inaugurated immediately after the old king's death. Leovigild's hostility to Catholicism had been fierce; Reccared, without showing any hostility to Arianism, announced his own acceptance of the Catholic creed, and induced many of the nobles to follow his example. Like Theodoric in Italy, he made no distinction between Catholic and Arian, and in the course of a generation Arianism practically disappeared.

But in removing one stumbling-block he had raised up another, all unconsciously. The grateful clergy were a useful counterpoise to the turbulent nobles. When he consulted the national council, much the larger part of it consisted not of the great Gothic nobles but of the bishops. With the bishops at his back the king's authority was greatly strengthened. But when a smaller man than Reccared was king, he soon became the tool of the bishops; and the age-long curse of Spain, the subservience of the crown to the churchmen, came into being. The Gothic monarchy became priest-ridden. The constitutional struggle developed into a contest between members of the nobility and the churchmen of the national council.

BRAVE DAUGHTER OF THEODORIC

It is almost certain that the figure on this panel of an ivory diptych is Amalaswintha, the valiant daughter of Theodoric, who attempted to continue his policy in Italy after his death.

British Museum (cast)

A DIFFERENT course was followed in the Frank dominion set up by Clovis. There was no religious antagonism to accentuate racial antagonism, and there was a royal house to whose title the nobles were unswervingly loyal; though partition of the inheritance among the sons was the destructive custom of the Frankish race. Clovis at his death in 511 left his dominion so divided between four sons, while Burgundy lay between the active Frankish hammer and the solid anvil of Provence.

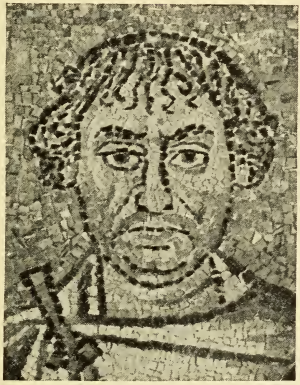
The annals of the house of the Merwings reek with blood from the outset. Clovis had killed off all the members of the royal house except his own sons, to clear the field for himself. By a strict adherence to their father's fundamental principle that treachery, audacity and ruthlessness are the basis of statecraft, the four brothers made themselves masters of all Gaul except the fragment which remained to the Visigoths; while the eldest, Theuderic, and after his death in 533 his son Theudebert, extended their supremacy over the German tribes beyond the Rhine.

Chlothar (Lothaire), the youngest and worst of the brood, survived his brothers, took the surest means of surviving their offspring, and died sole king of the Franks in 561, fifty years after his father. The kingdom was once again divided in four between Chlothar's surviving sons. The eldest dying in 567, Guntram took the center (Burgundy), Chilperic the north

and west (Neustria), and Sigibert the Rhenish and trans-Rhenish territory (known as Austrasia).

A blazing quarrel broke out between Sigibert and Chilperic. Guntram managed to effect a brief reconciliation while the Franks made common cause against a new danger. The Langobards, to whom we shall return, had just entered the stage, poured into Italy, and were threatening Provence. In 573 the invaders were driven over the Alps, and the contest between the brothers was renewed.

The internecine wars of the Merwing kings and queens, with the lurid figures of Brunhild and Fredegonde are a continuous nightmare, lasting till the reign of another Chlothar (613-628) who once again became the sole king of the Franks.



BELISARIUS THE WARLIKE

Next to Justinian on the observer's right, in a mosaic in S. Vitale, may be seen a figure whose features are here enlarged. It has been suggested that it represents Belisarius.

Photo, Alinari

Mayors of the Frankish Palace

But their king was not their master. He was king because Austrasians and Burgundians had offered to acknowledge him on terms that limited the royal prerogatives and conceded to the nobles prerogatives which in effect transferred the supreme authority to their hands. The acting heads of their governments, the "mayors of the palace," were made irremovable. A generation later that office became hereditary. When the first noble in the state held the office for life and passed it on to his son, the minister was bound to dominate the sovereign. Thenceforward, too, the royal decrees were issued as having the approval of the king's counsellors.

The reign of Chlothar (613-628) was not particularly sanguinary. In 623 he made his son Dagobert king of Austrasia —broadly speaking, Neustria was that portion of the Frankish dominion which had been under Roman government, Austrasia the non-Romanized German portion. Dagobert had the advantage of two very able and loyal counsellors, his mayor of the palace Pepin (the Old) of Heristhal, and Bishop Arnulf of Metz, the joint progenitors of the house of the Arnulfings, later known as the Karlings or Carolingians. Dagobert became sole king of the Franks in 628, nominally transferred Austrasia to his son Sigibert in 632, and died in 638, the last of the Merovingians whose authority was more than a shadow. Both his great counsellors survived him. The Neustrian and Burgundian mayors of the palace had not attained to any particular distinction.

First Advent of the Lombards

In Italy Justinian obliterated the Ostrogoths and set up his exarch at Ravenna, but the East could spare neither the money from its empty exchequer, nor the men from its oriental population, nor the energy which had more than enough calls upon it elsewhere to rehabilitate the exhausted country, defend it from vigorous foes, or reorganize a supreme government. In 568, fifteen years after the Gothic wars, a new barbarian group was overrunning the peninsula.

The Langobards (long-axes?), or, to adopt at once the more familiar form of their name, the Lombards, were a backward division of those various tribes associated with the Gothic name. They had never come prominently into collision with the Empire; but about the close of the fifth century they had pushed their way to the middle Danube. Towards the middle of the sixth century they broke the domination of the Heruli and the Gepidæ, in alliance with the Avars, a Mongolian race who had pushed into Hungary; they provided Narses with mercenary troops for his campaigns against the Ostrogoths;

like Alaric and Theodoric, the attraction of Italy appealed to their king Alboin; and when the emperor Justin II dismissed Narses from the Italian exarchate in 567, they left their Danubian lands to their allies the Avars, and poured through the Alps to take the place vacated by the Ostrogoths.

Apart from the stubborn defense of a few fortified cities, notably Pavia, no resistance was offered to their conquest and settlement in the much depopulated "Lombard plain." Alboin was the last of the Lethings, the family recognized as royal. When in 572 he was murdered by his wife the chiefs or dukes of the various clans regarded a new king as a superfluity, and for several years ranged over Italy, establishing themselves as dukes at their own convenience. From Ravenna, Perugia and Rome imperial officers ruled over considerable and almost contiguous territories; the "foot" of Italy could remain defiant; but otherwise almost the whole peninsula passed under Lombard dominion—the dominion of a variety of Lombard dukes who owned no central authority.

In the south the Lombards were few, and did not materially affect the character of the population or the traditional organization. In the north, where they were at least comparatively numerous, they made Lombardy something distinct from the rest of Italy. There, after a brief interval, they set up a new elective monarchy; with all the instability incidental to the elective system.

They had arrived as pagans, but adopted Catholic (not Arian) Christianity under the influence of the Christian queen, Theodelinda.

The other feature of the time is the papacy of Gregory I the Great (590-604), who made the pope not only the acknowledged spiritual head of western Christendom, but also in effect the temporal ruler of Rome, and may be said to have inaugurated that conception of the supreme authority of the Papacy which was to play so large a part in medieval history.

BRITAIN had, so to speak, loosed her moorings to the Continent, while the English were already beginning to settle on her shores, before Odoacer deposed Romulus Augustulus. The Roman unity had broken up under pressure of raiding Picts and Scots—Irish clans who had established themselves in Argyll—on the north, Irish raiders on the west, Jutish and Saxon rovers on the south. Legend and historical fact are too inextricably mingled to be disentangled with any confidence, but in the course of a hundred years between the (reputed) landing of Ælla in Sussex (477) and the victory of the West-Saxon Ceawlin at Deorham in the west country (577) successive groups of pagan Saxons or Angles conquered and established their domination in about half of so much of the island as lies south of the Forth; and when Æthelfrith, of Northumbria, won the battle of Chester in 613 the half had become two-thirds or three-quarters. How far the Britons were exterminated, enslaved, or amalgamated with the conquerors, is vehemently disputed. Everything east of a line drawn roughly from Edinburgh through Gloucester to the Channel was under English domination, all to the west of it was Celtic; but those two battles, Deorham and Chester, severed the Britons of Wales from the south and north Britons respectively, carrying the Saxons in the south and the Angles in the north to the west coast, which they had not reached before.

The Britons were broken up into chieftainships or principalities, with Celtic institutions modified by four centuries of Roman supremacy; and they retained their Christianity. The Celts beyond the old Roman frontier in the north were being Christianized during the second half of the sixth century—the five-hundreds—by the missionary zeal of S. Columba and his Irish followers, since Ireland had been independently Christianized (the Romans never having gone there) more than a century earlier.

In the last quarter, then, of the sixth century all the English were pagans, and there is no trace of Christianity surviving in the conquered districts. We can distinguish certain kingdoms: most definitely the Jute kingdom of Kent, the earliest settled conquest; the Saxon kingdom of Wessex; the Angle kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia; less definitely, of the East Angles and East Saxons, and of South Saxons wedged between Kent and the West Saxons; and in the midlands the Middle Angles established in Mercia, on the March of the Welsh Britons, contigu-

ous in the south with the West Saxon kingdom of Hwicce; British kingdoms survived in Elmet, Cornwall and Cumbria.

KENT, for obvious reasons, was the gateway to the Continent, and was naturally the part of the island most open to European influence. The marriage of Ethelbert of Kent to the Merovingian princess Bertha no doubt encouraged Pope Gregory to carry out his long-projected design of sending a mission to England. Augustine and his company were favorably received (597); with the result that before sixty years had passed Christianity was the established religion over the whole island, though the antagonisms between the "Latin" practices adopted by the English and the "Celtic" practices which continued to hold their own in the rest of the island and in Ireland effectually counteracted what might have been expected to prove a unifying influence.

As yet there was political unity neither in the English nor in the Celtic regions. There was no king of the English and no king of the Britons. Unification could be accomplished only by force of arms. The foundations of Northumbrian ascendancy were laid by Edwin of Northumbria (617-633); but that Christian monarch was slain in battle by the last champion of paganism, Penda of Mercia. But neither the Northumbrian nor the Mercian power was destined to effect the unification of England.

The last years of Justinian had been inglorious. Absorbed in theological controversy, the old ruler neglected the requirements and the problems of state.

His successor, Justin II (565-578), was ambitious, but lacked both the capacity and the means to achieve his imperial ambitions. By this time the Slavs or Slovenians were rather flooding than infiltrating the Balkan peninsula in an inexhaustible stream. The Avars in conjunction with the Lombards had just obliterated their trans-Danubian enemies and, when the Lombards departed to take possession of Italy, were ready to expand southward. The financial and military resources of the Empire were reduced to a low ebb.

Justinian had kept the Avars quiet by a subsidy. Justin invited their attack by withdrawing the subsidy, and they responded by raiding with ever increasing intensity. Then in 571 he refused to continue the payments to the Persians, under the agreement which had been made when they evacuated Colchis. Thus began a prolonged Persian war (572-591), which was a steady drain on the resources of the Empire, bringing no counterbalancing gains; though, on the whole, the Persians had the worse in the fighting. Then Justin went mad, recovered sufficiently to nominate Tiberius Constantius as his colleague

CHOSROES THE CONQUERING PERSIAN

This Persian figure in relief, taken from a splendid silver cup, is probably that of Chosroes II, Parviz (591-628). Nominally to avenge the death of his ally Maurice, he invaded the Empire, and had possessed himself of Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine and Egypt when Heraclius turned the tables on him.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photo, Giraudon

—the wisest act of his life—and relapsed again. On his death, Tiberius II, of whom much was expected, became really emperor; but with the best intentions could accomplish nothing, save an untrustworthy agreement with the Avars, before his premature death in 582.

Tiberius nominated as his successor Maurice I (582-602), who had been doing good service in command of the eastern army. He was a good soldier, but custom forbade the emperor to command the armies in the field, and he did not understand army administration. The one truth he realized was the need for economy, and his economies ruined the discipline of the forces. Still, the war was ended by a Persian revolution.

Meanwhile the Avars had broken the peace which Tiberius had induced them to accept. Also the Slavonic flood was rising. In 599 the economical emperor refused to ransom some thousands of prisoners who had fallen into the hands of the Avars; whereon the khan of the Avars had them massacred. Public opinion laid the blame on Maurice. Then in 601, again for the sake of economy, the troops at the front were ordered not to return to winter quarters. The soldiers mutinied, chose Phocas, one of their own number, as their leader, marched on Constantinople, murdered Maurice, and proclaimed Phocas as their emperor (602).

Chaos followed, for Phocas was nothing but a brutal savage. Chosroes, as the avenger of his old protector Maurice, set about the conquest of the East, while Avars and Slavs ranged practically unresisted over the Balkan peninsula, and Phocas occupied himself in hunting out conspiracies and killing conspirators real or only suspected. Year by year the Persian raiding columns carried their incursions farther and farther west over Mesopotamia, northern Syria, eastern, central and at last even western Asia Minor; only south Syria, Africa and Egypt were immune.

In 609 Heraclius the elder, who had governed Africa long and well, organized revolt. In 610 his son, Heraclius the younger, arrived at the Dardanelles with a fleet. The tyrant found himself utterly deserted. He was seized and handed over in chains to young Heraclius, who forthwith sent him to death. Then Constantinople proclaimed the deliverer emperor.

The task before him was incredibly difficult. Experienced officers, disciplined troops, money above all, were wanting. Disaster followed disaster. The Persians turned on Syria; in 514 the pagan host captured Jerusalem, sacked it, and carried off what had been for centuries treasured as the True Cross on which the Savior had been crucified. Two years later they invaded Egypt, which offered no resistance at all. In 617 they took and garrisoned Chalcedon, facing Constantinople across the Bosporus. The end seemed at hand.

Despair wrought almost a miracle. High and low rallied to the cause; the Church leading, they brought in by voluntary effort all their treasures, and troops were raised. Heraclius proclaimed his resolve to break through tradition and take the field in person—to stake all on the last desperate effort to save the Empire and Christianity. But first the Avars and Slavs had to be bound over. It was not till 622 that Heraclius was at last free to launch his attack.

He had one vital asset, the command of the sea, and he used it. While he had it, Constantinople was safe, and he used it to fling his whole force on the Persian center in Cilicia, cleaving Asia Minor from Syria, and compelling the Persians to withdraw from the West. Next year he drove straight at Media. Year after year success followed success. He penetrated victoriously farther into the heart of Persia than any Roman commander before him. In 627 he shattered the last of the Persian armies near Nineveh. The Nemesis of overweening success at last overtook Chosroes; the very army deposed him, and his successor was prompt to sue for peace, which Heraclius was willing enough to grant on generous terms. The Persian threat to the Empire was finally nullified. The idol of the army and the people, Heraclius returned in 628 to Constantinople, unconscious of the rise, in remote Arabia, of a menace far more terrific than that which he had so gloriously broken—the world-shaking menace of Islam. For the Prophet had arisen on the occasion of whose death four years later the floodgates would be opened.

In China we have to note the rise, in 618, of the T'ang dynasty, whose rule is counted as another Golden Age, when Chinese literature was at its zenith.

Towards the close of the fifth century,

the last of the great Guptas beat back the invasion of India by the White Huns. Skandagupta's successors were less successful; though the dynasty was not destroyed the empire was broken up. During the sixth century the invaders, who were akin to the Turks rather than the Mongols proper, established themselves all over northern India, their chiefs forming a new nobility, which preferred to associate itself with the old governing class rather than to destroy it. Hence there is at least plausible ground for the view that the later Rajputs whom Hindu law identifies with the old Kshatriya caste are in fact much more White Hun than genuine Hindu. Throughout the century, however, the records are meager.

But in the first half of the seventh century there is more light. In 606 the young prince Harsha-vardhana succeeded to the throne of a rising kingdom on the Jumna, and in the course of forty years developed it into an empire which covered the whole of northern India, except the Punjab, between the Himalayas and the Narbada. Very full description of that great kingdom was recorded by a Chinese traveler (as usual), Yuan Chwang, a Buddhist pilgrim. Kanauj on the Ganges, due east of Agra, was Harsha's capital; and his tributaries included the kings of Gujarat in the west and Assam in the east. Both Brahmanism as represented by countless temples and Buddhism by many monasteries flourished exceedingly under the monarch, who was Brahman by birth but Buddhist by inclination. After the not very prolonged wars which established his empire in 612, Harsha would seem to have tried to emulate Asoka rather than Chandragupta; justice and humanity pervaded the administration, though less completely than in the days of the great Buddhist emperor. The king himself not only patronized but practiced literature with some distinction.

With the departure of Yuan Chwang a few years before Harsha's death, obscurity again descends upon the Indian records of that period.

MONASTICISM: ITS CAUSES AND EFFECTS

SKETCH OF THE SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL PART PLAYED IN WORLD HISTORY BY THE MONASTIC INSTITUTION

By G. G. COULTON, D.Litt.

Fellow of S. John's College, Cambridge; Author of Mediaeval Studies, From S. Francis to Dante, Five Centuries of Religion, etc.

MONASTICISM is a very ancient institution, possibly even prehistoric. There has always been a small minority of men and women who find in seclusion and contemplation the conditions best suited to their nature. In the Orient the system early found adherents, and it became firmly established throughout the East in association with the Buddhist religion. The present chapter, however, deals mainly with Christian monasticism.

Christianity was not a religion of accommodation to ordinary social usages and conventions; but, as the early Christians gradually ceased to contemplate the second advent of Christ as immediately imminent, it became necessary for them to choose between the rigid otherworldliness of the first converts and a more supple compliance natural to men who no longer expected the immediate destruction of the present world. Definite lines of cleavage soon grew up between the stricter and the laxer minds; and in Egypt, where the contrast was strongest, we soon find germs of a monastic system.

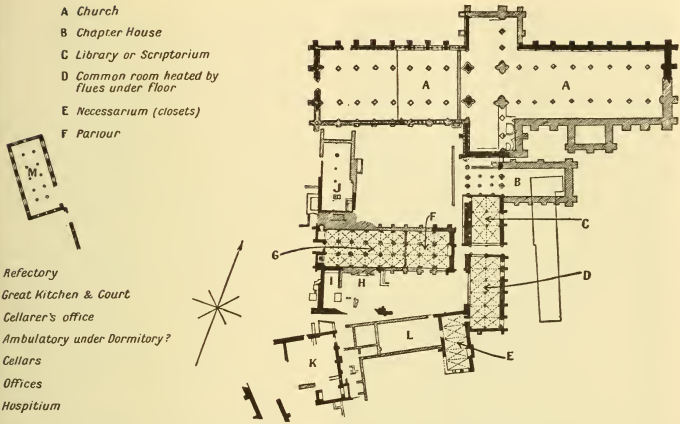
Alexandria was, after Jerusalem, the center of Christian thought for many generations. But it had all the vices of a great city; and close by were deserts with spots of oasis admirably suited for retirement. Thither Anthony and Paul, the first recorded Christian hermits, retired about A.D. 250. Their example attracted numerous imitators; and these increased when Constantine, by raising Christianity to the position of a state religion for the whole Roman Empire, gave it a vast increase of political strength, but rendered the problem of otherworldliness proportionately more acute.

The rapid extension of hermit life rendered centralization imperative, since it is not possible for multitudes to live in pure individualism; and in S. Jerome's time (d. 420) we find monks already organized in communities. As early as about 315 Pachomius had drawn up a rule for such organized life; half a century later S. Basil drew up a rule upon which Eastern monasticism is to a great extent based even to the present day.

Meanwhile, the monastic movement had begun to spread westwards. There were a certain number of early Celtic monasteries. Monasteries can be traced in Italy and France in about A.D. 360; early in the sixth century we find three Western Rules, composed by Caesarius of Arles, by Cassiodorus and by S. Benedict. The last of these was by far the most efficient; and it soon became virtually the one standard rule for Western monks.

S. Benedict was well born, and studied first at Rome; but the wickedness of that city repelled him. His biographer, S. Gregory, writes: 'He despised the literary studies [of that city] and departed, knowingly ignorant and wisely unlearned.' First he took refuge in a cave, and lived so wild a life that shepherds took him for a strange beast. A neighboring monastery at last chose this remarkable ascetic for abbot; but he soon left them with the parting words: 'Choose ye some other abbot suitable to your own conditions.' Disciples flocked again to his cave; he formed these into small groups, each of twelve monks with an abbot. His success brought him persecution from laxer clergy, but in the end he triumphed, and his monastery of Montecassino, on a hill between Rome and Naples, became in a sense the monastic capital of the West.

S. Benedict's rule is a masterpiece of force and discretion combined. Once accepted, it must not be questioned, nor



GROUND PLAN OF S. MARY'S ABBEY AT YORK

All monasteries were built upon the same general lines. The church was the nucleus of the whole institution and (usually on the south side of it) were the cloisters with the buildings appropriated to the daily life of the community ranged round their other three sides, the dormitories being on the upper storey. Kitchen and offices lay beyond the cloisters, communicating with the refectory. At the Benedictine Abbey of S. Mary's, York, the hospitium, or guest house, was a detached building.

After Churton, 'Monastic Remains.'

must the abbot's authority; the abbot stands in Christ's place, both as captain and in charitable consideration for his disciples. And this emphasis on obedience is justified by the studied moderation of the rule itself. It was no part of S. Benedict's scheme to found an order of priests and scholars, yet he prescribed on the basis of such ripe experience, with such sane judgement and true human sympathy, that his work stood the test of many centuries, and much of it still survives.

S. Benedict conceived the abbey as a self-sufficing community. The buildings were to be so arranged as to include all necessary offices and stores; the sixty-sixth chapter of his rule prescribes that, in normal circumstances, no monk should ever leave the precincts; and early commentators interpreted this with the strictest severity. Within those precincts the monk was to live much like a peasant-farmer in S. Benedict's own Italy; the same rough country frock and hood thrown over a woollen tunic; a sparing use of wine; no butcher's meat except in cases of sickness; steady occupation during the day and moderate sleep at night.

His occupations, of course, differed from the farmer's. His work was, indeed, to be partly manual, in field or garden or kitchen, but partly intellectual also; S. Benedict contemplates about three hours' reading a day, unless the monk be illiterate. Partly, again, it was to consist in common prayer.

In other respects also the good monk's life was harder than the farmer's, for his rule prescribed taciturnity; not necessarily complete silence, though strict reformers often interpreted it so, but at least an avoidance of general conversation, whether at work or elsewhere.

Lastly, S. Benedict's ideal prescribed three great steps in self-denial beyond the average good man—Obedience, Poverty and Chastity. These were spoken of through the Middle Ages as the Three Substantials, without which there could be no true monasticism.

Poverty, from the personal point of

THE PRIOR OF ST. ALBAN'S

The prior was the second superior of a monastery, subordinate to the abbot, by whom he was appointed, and charged with the government of the community, the discipline of the house and the maintenance of observance of the rule.

British Museum, MS. Nero D. vii

view, must be absolute; a monk committed grievous sin if he claimed private ownership of even a pen or any such trifle. But collectively the monks might be, and soon were, very richly endowed; the theory, to the last, was that they held this wealth mainly in trust for others. Great churchmen of the most unquestioned orthodoxy, however, were ready to point out that this had naturally become a legal fiction; that the monks had, in fact, the full disposal of nearly all their revenues, and that their claim to poverty must to this extent be modified. Already in S. Benedict's time nobles brought their sons to be put under his care, as prospective monks; again, the fiftieth chapter of the rule prescribes that whatever property a postulant possesses should, at his profession, be given either to the poor or to the funds of the monastery. In this way, and especially through deathbed legacies for the benefit of men's souls, the monasteries soon amassed considerable revenues, which grew sometimes to enormous proportions.

The Dark Ages, with their alternations of barbarian invasions and desperate efforts for reconstruction, were naturally difficult for monasticism; zeal cooled; the temptations to malversation of property were very great; and the institution gradually lost much of its original religious and charitable character. There were occasional vigorous efforts for reform, but at the end of the Dark Ages—about the year A.D. 1000—monasticism in general was certainly much decayed from its original purity.

With the general revival of civilization came a monastic revival, led by the house of Cluny in Burgundy. Founded in 910, this reformed abbey before 1100 had two hundred dependent monasteries, and in 1500 these numbered more than eight hundred. Some of these, though styled simple priories, rivalled the greatest abbeys in Europe. Cluny itself possessed the greatest church in the West, and its abbot was the most powerful ecclesiastic next to the pope.

Cluny contributed much not only to a revival of regular discipline, but also to literature and art. But by the end of the eleventh century the congregation was decaying from within; moreover, society was improving, and the monk was expected to progress with the world. Between 1020 and 1120 no fewer than eight reformed congregations were born, ending with Carthusians (1084), Cistercians (1098) and Premonstratensians (1120).

The Cistercians were the most important. They aimed at bringing monasticism back to the literal Rule of S. Benedict, and though they fell into certain exaggerations, yet they were right in the main. Their greatest leader in fact, though not officially, was S. Bernard (d. 1154), in whom the most brilliant worldly gifts were united with a consuming religious enthusiasm.

This period is the apogee of medieval monasticism. For two centuries wealth and worldly honor had flowed in upon the monks more freely than at any time since the earliest days; and, on the whole, they deserved it. This remains true even when we have cleared away the unreason-

able exaggerations contained (for instance) in the oft-quoted sentence of Thorold Rogers: 'The monks were the men of letters in the Middle Ages, the historians, the jurists, the philosophers, the physicians, the students of nature.'

Even in respect of literature and history this emphatic use of 'the' is not justified by facts; the monks do not so far excel the secular clergy, especially when we consider their opportunities.

In philosophy the claim is more nearly justified; yet even here perhaps the three most original thinkers of the period were not monks—Johannes Scotus Erigena, Abélard and Marsilius of Padua. But their contributions to law or physic were only fractional and in natural science, that which was done in the cloister cannot really be compared with what was done outside.

In art, again, the legend that the monk took a preponderant part (except as wealthy patron) depends partly on misreading, partly on neglect, of the actual records; especially upon unwarrantable generalizations from a few concrete cases which were exceptional.

Monastic services to education are often equally exaggerated. Frequently, in earlier days, the best divinity schools were monastic. The monks under early missionary conditions sometimes conducted a small school for outsiders, apart from their own novices. Later, a great monastery often possessed a small almonry school, and a still smaller choir school; and a few nuns eked out their scanty incomes by teaching a few children, as they also did by taking grown boarders. But the monasteries were not directly concerned with the foundation of any university, and the monks who taught at universities were an almost negligible fraction.

Lastly, we must make corresponding deductions from the frequent assertion that monasteries were great copying shops for books. There is sufficient evidence to treat this subject statistically, within certain limits; monastic catalogues of different centuries sometimes enable us to calculate the rate of increase within a given period. The rate is never greater than would be accounted for by the labors of one monk out of fifty, working steadily for only half the day at the rate of a professional scribe. Moreover, this rests upon the assumption that the new books were all written by monks, whereas in many cases we know them to have been given to the monastery, or bought, or written by hired scribes within the precincts.

But, with all these deductions, it may be said that monasticism was among the greatest, if not the very greatest, of civilizing forces in the Middle Ages. The monasteries formed the main channel of transmission for ancient Roman civiliza-

DISTINCTIVE HABITS OF THE MONASTIC ORDERS IN ENGLAND

Authentic information as to the uniform of the several monastic orders is furnished by a leaf of an illuminated psalter of the fourteenth century in the possession of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Along the bottom of the page the strip, reproduced here, shows, from left to right, two Cistercians in white, two Dominicans in black over white, two (probably) Premonstratensians in white, two Austin Friars, two Franciscans in brown, two Carmelites in white over black, and two Benedictines.

Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, MS. Δ. 76

tion. Such books as lived through the Dark Ages do, in most cases, owe their survival to them; and this is partly true even of the later Middle Ages. In agriculture the monks accepted and transmitted the Roman tradition of great landlordism, and they probably contributed a good deal by preserving, if only here and there, the old Roman writers on agriculture. Again, their charity was very great at its best, and seldom inconsiderable even at the worst. True, most of this was statutory: that is to say, the money was left by benefactors who definitely earmarked it for the poor, and true again, that these statutory distributions were not always fully carried out. But enough still remained to give reality to the contention that the Dissolution did much to aggravate the agricultural crisis of the sixteenth century. And, when we face the worst facts, at the least favorable times and places, we must still recognize that the average monk lived a distinctly less irregular life than the average layman.

AT WORK IN THE SCRIPTORIUM

While the service of monasteries in the multiplication of books has been exaggerated, the great houses had 'scriptoria,' where monks or hired professional scribes, one of whom is portrayed here, were provided with materials for copying books.

British Museum, Harleian MSS. 4425

If it were possible to measure him thus, without reference to his lofty profession, his rich endowments and his great social and political privileges, this fact would disarm criticism. But we cannot stop short at that point; it is our duty to consider not only what he was, but what it was rightly expected that he should be. Orthodox and unorthodox students are now coming nearer to an agreement on those gradual steps in decay which alone can explain the castastrophe of the sixteenth century.

The first has already been noted. Wealth began to choke religion; this was remarked almost as plainly by the orthodox of the twelfth century as by any Albigensian or Wycliffite.

The emphatic rule of claustration was so relaxed that it came to be enforced only as an exceptional punishment. Debts increased, mainly through waste and mismanagement, though plague and war were often heavy contributory causes. Reduction of income was met by reducing the number of monks or nuns, and masses and choir services were neglected.

Thus alone can the Dissolution in England be fully explained; the monks, as a whole, had long ceased to be really popular. Even their inward deterioration since 1200 was less significant than their increasingly disadvantageous comparison with general society. Education was growing, commerce expanding, ideas widening; and all this while the monasteries were not even marking time. They were found wanting by a generation whose forefathers they themselves had done much to educate, indirectly if not directly.

Meanwhile there came (and, like all the greatest monastic reforms, from below) an impulse even more important than the earlier Carthusian-Cistercian-Premonstratensian movement. Monasticism, in virtue of its enormous endowments, was entangled in feudalism and capitalism. S. Francis (d. 1226) conceived the idea of a new religious-social reform which was essentially inimical to capitalism. His aim was to 'follow, naked, the naked Christ' even more literally than the monk had used those words. The monks, individually poor if they kept the rule strictly, were yet collectively rich; the Brothers Minor (as S. Francis called his

disciples) were to possess neither individually nor collectively; their very houses were not to be their own. His immediate success was one of the wonders of all history; he may be reasonably claimed as the most Christ-like figure since Christ; yet this frontal attack upon wealth failed in the long run.

His contemporary S. Dominic (d. 1221), starting from a somewhat different standpoint, arrived at much the same result. Franciscans and Dominicans were at first close allies; the Franciscans learned from their friendly rivals to lay more stress upon study and preaching, and the Dominicans learned to value poverty even more than they had done from the first. Their example gave cohesion to two groups which already existed; the Carmelites and the Austin Friars.

The 'friar' differed from the older 'religious' on two essential points. He was poor not only individually but collectively; and, again, no longer secluded in his cloister, he used it only as a base of operations for missionary work out in the world. Zealous popes and bishops naturally utilized this new enthusiasm; and the friars reacted favorably upon the older orders. Then they themselves decayed rapidly, and within less than a century the need for regeneration was greater than ever. Monastic decay was one of the most important themes for discussion at the great Councils of Constance (1414-1418) and Basel (1431-1443). Much real good was done, especially in Germany and France and Italy, where things were worse than in England, yet even in England it needed only a great crisis to bring the whole edifice down. The king wanted to be master in his own kingdom; and the monks, by their very constitution, were papal subjects entrenched in camps throughout the land. Again, the king wanted money, and here was vast spoil to be had without seriously disquieting the people. Therefore, in his quarrel with the pope, he naturally struck first at the monasteries.

The English Dissolution, considered in its actual methods, remains one of the least creditable chapters in English history. In Protestant Germany the Dissolution was better managed than in the British Isles; a far larger proportion of monastic buildings and revenues was devoted to educational purposes. In Catholic Germany and Austria the Counter-Reformation brought forth a certain revival of monastic regularity and learning; the Benedictines, especially, produced here a good many distinguished students and writers.

OPEN AIR SERMON BY A MENDICANT FRIAR

Dominicans were specifically the preaching order of friars, but missionary work in the world was the purpose of all the mendicant orders, and they were in great demand as preachers. They might not, however, encroach upon the privileges of the clergy, nor preach without their leave in the parish churches.

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge MS. 22

But it was in France that the Benedictines did by far the most remarkable work, especially in the reformed Congregation of St. Maur. This reform, indeed, is in every way the most important episode in monastic history between the foundation of the Jesuits and the French Revolution. The Maurine Congregation was founded in 1621; and in process of time a hundred and ninety-one houses joined, none of which had less than nine inmates. There must have been more than two thousand monks in the whole congregation.

Their regularity of life, and the care with which they educated their novices, led naturally to a systematic development

FOUNTAINS ABBEY: ENDLAND'S LOVELIEST RELIC OF MONASTICISM

With the possible exception of Tintern Abbey, the remains of Fountains Abbey near Ripon in Yorkshire are the most complete monastic ruins in England, comprising as they do the church with its tower, the chapter house, cloisters and other parts of the building. The abbey, which was a Cistercian house, peopled by monks from S. Mary's Abbey, York, was begun about 1140 and took nearly 200 years to complete. The House was dissolved by Henry VIII and the ruins and lands were sold.

Photo, Valentine & Co.

of scholarship, though this had not been directly contemplated from the first. Their strength was not so much in original thought as in research; in the discovery and editing of valuable documents, the production of standard editions of the Fathers, the printing of medieval chronicles and the compilation of elaborate and scientific auxiliaries to history. But serious abuses finally crept into this select congregation, and its learning had already deteriorated when the Revolution swept it away with the rest of the other monasteries.

After the French Revolution both Germany and Spain dissolved their monasteries; Italy did so in 1873; France at the end of the nineteenth century. In South America the greater part have been dissolved at different dates, but they have revived in different ways. There is a kernel in the monastic idea which appeals to many men's hearts and is of great ethical and religious value; therefore all that the state can do, or ought to do, is to restrict and regulate these communities on the same principles on which it deals with other associations.

CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN

THE COLOR AND LIFE OF THE METROPOLIS OF THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE DAYS OF ITS SPLENDOR

By F. N. PRYCE

Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum

FROM the study of the Eastern Roman Empire one fact emerges clearly—the dominant and decisive part played throughout by the capital. Constantinople was not only the seat of a highly centralized administration, the great market to which wealth and commerce flowed, the Holy City of the Patriarchs and the Fathers; but for centuries it stands out as the citadel of the Empire and the stronghold of civilization.

For this unique destiny the geographical position of the city is responsible. Constantinople stands on some of the most important trade routes of the ancient and modern world, where Europe and Asia stretch towards each other until they are separated by only a mile of sheltered water, the Bosporus. In the heart of the city the Golden Horn provides a safe harbor for shipping. Northwards up the Bosporus a short sea voyage leads to the Black Sea, the corn lands of the Danube and the boundless plains of Russia. Southwards another sea way through the Dardanelles brings us to the Mediterranean world.

Constantinople is the most accessible of cities; and at the same time it is the most easily defended in time of need. The long defiles of the Bosporus and Dardanelles, properly garrisoned, can be rendered impregnable against any attack by sea. Nor is the land approach much easier. An army attacking on the Asiatic side, after fighting its way to within sight of the city, would find all further progress barred by the Bosporus; and on the European side the peninsula on which the city stands is narrow, and can be blocked by successive lines of fortifications.

Yet with all these advantages of site, Constantinople does not appear to be one of those cities which, like London or New York, inevitably and spontaneously grow and develop into great world centers. Its foundation was a matter of afterthought, and for many centuries it remained a town of second-rate importance.

Perhaps the reason for this is that there is no extent of fertile land immediately around the city; perhaps the climate provides the explanation. Constantinople lies on the latitude of Naples and Madrid. It is cooler than either of these cities; yet in the summer there are months of damp heat, when one is glad to escape from the stuffy lanes of Pera and Stamboul to the open ground outside where the north wind blows cool and fresh. Standing on the moorland heights and looking down on the sweltering city, one realizes the age-long tragedy of Constantinople—the inevitable degeneration of any race or dynasty that inhabited the city, and the close proximity of the uplands whence came men of tougher fiber to reinvigorate or to conquer.

The foundation of Constantinople goes back to the far-off days of Greek colonization. In 658 B.C. a party of adventurers from the little city of Megara, to the south of Athens settled on the site; their leader was one Byzas who gave his name to the new settlement, Byzantium.

The town flourished, but never won any pre-eminence, and its inhabitants, a medley of seafarers of all nationalities, had not a good reputation. Then in 328 Constantine the Great came to the decision that Byzantium should be the future capital of his Empire. Workmen and materials were brought from all parts of the Empire, and the work was pushed forward with such speed that in two years he was able to take up his residence in his chosen capital. The area of the city was quadrupled, and a wall was built to defend the land side. Within this area the plan of the main streets can be traced at the

EUROPE'S WARDEN AGAINST ASIA: SITE OF CONSTANTINOPLE'S LONG AND HEROIC STRUGGLES

Constantinople stands upon two continents and is made up of three distinct cities—Stamboul and Galata in Europe, and Scutari in Asia. Stamboul, seen in the foreground of this photograph, occupies the site of the ancient Byzantium and is the most crowded and Turkish part of Constantinople. It stands on a tongue of land between the Sea of Marmora and the Golden Horn. Galata, with its suburb Pera, on the other side of the Golden Horn, is the European quarter; it is connected with Stamboul by two bridges, of which the New Bridge is seen here. Scutari, across the Bosporus, is the Asiatic quarter.

Photo, E. W. Brigg

present day; but of the actual buildings of Constantine scarcely a trace remains. Earthquakes, fires and rebuildings by later emperors—in particular Justinian—have effaced most memorials of the founder. The wall was abandoned a hundred years later—the city had outgrown it, and a new line a mile farther out was built in the reign of Theodosius II, about A.D. 413. This is the famous wall of Constantinople, which ran across the peninsula from sea to sea. At the northern end changes were subsequently made; but elsewhere we still see the triple-line fortifications which proved impregnable until the invention of gunpowder. We still see the gap through which the Turks entered in 1453, and where the last of all the Constantines set a worthy end to the long line of emperors by dying in the breach. Simultaneously other walls were built around the water fronts of the peninsula, so that Constantinople was shut in on all sides.

Entrance to the city was provided by many gates, of which that nearest the Sea of Marmora on the south was the most important. It was called the Golden Gate, and originally glittered with plates of gold and sculptures of marble. From it one great street, the 'Mese,' bordered by colonnades, traversed the whole city. On the right, on entering, was the famous monastery of S. John Studion, which maintained a thousand monks; the church of the monastery still stands. Continuing, the street passes through several squares, or forums. In the first, the Forum of Arcadius, stood a sculptured column with

a statue of Arcadius, and then came the Forum of the Ox. In the next, the Amastrianum, criminals were publicly beheaded or mutilated; this is about the center of the city, and here another main thoroughfare branched off, leading past the great Church of the Holy Apostles, where the emperors were buried. Continuing down the Mese, one reached the Forum of Theodosius, and here was the university, with rows of lecture halls for the thirty professors appointed by the emperor to instruct the youth. Next came the Forum of

PLAN OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Byzantium was founded by Greeks from Megara in 658 B.C. and grew from an original acropolis to a walled city. Constantine's city, begun in A.D. 328 and dedicated in 330, covered four times the area of Byzantium, but was rapidly outgrown, and in 413 was extended to the Theodosian fortifications, extending from the Sea of Marmora to the Golden Horn.

Constantine, containing a column of porphyry, now called the Burnt Column. A little farther on the Mese ends in the Augusteum, around which were grouped the most important buildings, the Imperial Palace, the Great Church of the Holy Wisdom (S. Sophia) and the Hippodrome. Against the sea were two minor palaces, originally detached but incorporated with the main residence by Justinian. One was the Porphyry Palace, containing a bedroom lined with purple porphyry, which custom enjoined that every empress should occupy at her lying-in; hence the imperial princes are distinguished as 'Born in the Purple.'

We possess elaborate accounts of the ceremonial observed at the imperial court. Every morning at seven the grand janitor accompanied by the officers of the guard threw open the main entrance. An hour later the emperor issued from his private apartments surrounded by his eunuch attendants and, proceeded to one of the palace chapels, said his prayers publicly, after which he assumed his seat in the

THE GOLDEN GATE

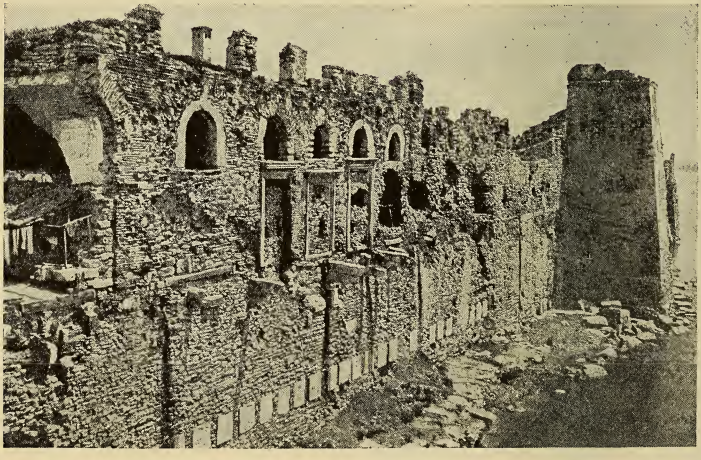
Ten gates pierced the Theodosian wall. The southernmost, nearest the Sea of Marmora, was the state entrance to the capital. It was built of marble, enriched with gold and sculpture, and was flanked by two strong towers.

throne room. The steward of the household then knelt before him to receive the imperial orders, after which the nobles and officials were admitted to audience.

At their entrance all knelt save the 'patricians,' who merely bowed deeply and were greeted by the emperor with a kiss. These public audiences were largely occupied with receptions of foreign embassies and in presenting commissions on appointment to office, which were signed by the emperor in purple ink, the use of which was illegal for subjects. At ten the reception terminated and the palace was solemnly closed until two, when the same formalities were again observed and the emperor remained accessible till five, when public duties were ended for the day.

If in the Palace we find the stiff formalism of despotism, in the adjoining Hippodrome the democratic side of the Empire received free expression. Here the turbulent city mob indicated its sentiments towards the government, and passions often ran so high as to threaten to overthrow the dynasty. The Hippodrome, or race-course, the modern Atmeidan, has become a long, narrow garden bordered by modern buildings. We have to imagine that these have disappeared and should mentally replace them by long lines of marble seats rising tier on tier, until the vast mass could accommodate seventy thousand spectators. Near the northern side was the 'Kathisma,' the imperial box. On the roof of this stood the four famous bronze horses which now adorn S. Mark's at Venice; the Doge Dandolo took them away in 1204 when the crusaders stormed and sacked the city.

The 'spina' down the center is now buried underground, but its position is marked by four monuments. The first is the memorial fountain built by Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1895; the others were standing in the days of Justinian—a masonry column once covered with metal plates, an Egyptian obelisk and a battered stump of twisted bronze which is



JUSTINIAN'S MARBLE PALACE OVERLOOKING THE SEA

Constantine's Imperial Palace lay between the Hippodrome and the Sea of Marmora. Two minor palaces stood in the grounds: the Porphyry Palace, and the palace assigned to the Persian prince Hormisdas when he sought refuge with Constantine, and afterwards occupied by Justinian and Theodora before their accession to the throne. Its splendid façade, pierced with windows set in marble casements that once opened on to balconies, is still a notable point in the line of the sea walls.

Photo, Dr. Sandler

WHERE THE BLUES AND GREENS CONTESTED: SITE OF THE HIPPODROME

Severus began and Constantine the Great completed the Hippodrome that became the centre of the democratic life of Constantinople. Under the Turks it was used for horse exercises and called the Atmeidan, the name still given to the long garden that covers its site. The obelisks mark the position of the 'Spina' down the centre. The imperial box or Kathisma stood on the ground now occupied by the mosque of Sultan Ahmed, seen on the right; in the left background is S. Sophia.

Photo, E.N.A.

the most interesting of all. Constantine brought it from the Greek shrine of Delphi, where it had been dedicated by the Greek victors at Plataea in 479 B.C. as a memorial of the Persian War; and underneath the rust we may still read faintly inscribed the names of the Greek cities who then banded together to repel the invader.

As the largest open space in the city, the Hippodrome was the scene of many public ceremonials and gatherings, but its original purpose was to provide accommodation for the games, which took place, as at old Rome, at stated intervals throughout the year.

The combats of gladiators which formed the principal attraction of a Roman holiday had disappeared by Justinian's time, as unworthy of an Empire that professed the Christian religion. Criminals were still sometimes set to fight wild beasts; acrobatic feats and performances were often provided; but the main source of interest was the chariot races. The modern craze for sport is only a feeble reflection of the fanatical enthusiasm that they aroused.

The chariots were low structures, open behind, drawn by two or more often four horses. Four cars usually competed in each race, and from early days the audience was accordingly divided into four factions, the Blues, Greens, Reds and Whites, named probably after the color of the charioteer they supported. In Justinian's days the Reds and Whites had become practically unimportant and the Blues and Greens monopolized the popular favor. This division was carried far beyond the race-course into all activities of life. It was a division of opinion on every topic of the day, which often led to virtual civil war. Even emperors found it politic to support one or other of the factions—Justinian was of the

Blues—and the color which did not win the emperor's favor at once formed itself into a party in opposition, which criticized his administration and often intrigued to bring about his downfall.

THE 'BURNT COLUMN'

This porphyry column marks the site of Constantine's forum. Originally it was topped by a bronze statue representing that emperor and was over 120 feet high. It has been much injured by fire—hence its popular name.

Photo, E.N.A.

The unruly spirit of the factions is well illustrated by the story of the Nika riots, one of the most picturesque episodes of Justinian's reign. On Sunday, January 11, 532, uproar prevailed in the Hippodrome; we must imagine more than thirty thousand Blues on one side and as many Greens on the other, hurling insults and doubtless missiles at each other across the spina. The emperor and empress arrived in state, and the spokesmen of the Greens came forward to represent their grievances to the emperor. A long wrangle took place, the Blues and Greens accusing each other, while the emperor ordered both sides to be quiet and let the games proceed. At last Justinian lost patience and bade the Greens begone as a set of 'blasphemers and enemies of God'; whereupon the Greens, muttering 'Enemies of God, are we? Thank Heaven, we are not Blues!' retired in a body from the Hippodrome, turning their backs upon the Kathisma, the ultimate insult to the Sacred Emperor.

The emperor's sensibilities were evidently deeply ruffled. That evening he gave orders for an example to be made of the most insolent. But the police sadly bungled their task; they made seven arrests, and among these were two Blues. And on Tuesday, when the games were resumed, was seen the unusual spectacle of Blues and Greens united in praying to the emperor for the release of their friends. A slight concession now would have ended the trouble, but Justinian remained sternly silent; and as the hours passed the clamor grew more intense and the popular excitement more frenzied. The races over, Justinian left the Hippodrome and the factions, seeing their last hope of the prisoners' release disappointed, made an attempt to rush the palace. Finding it impossible to fight their way in, the mob hurled firebrands, and much of the palace together with the adjoining Cathedral of the Holy Wisdom was soon ablaze.

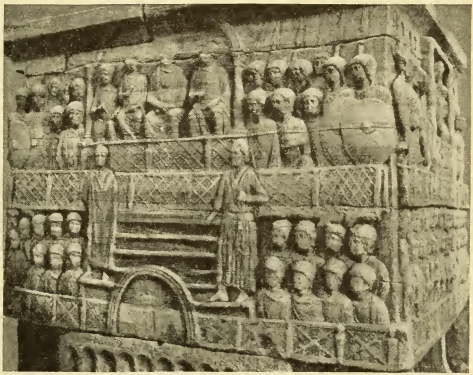
For the next few days chaos prevailed in the city. The officials were paralyzed; many fled for their lives. Of the military forces, several units openly joined the insurgents. Even the guards of the Palace were doubtful in their sympathies and the only troops to be depended on were the foreign legions. The situation seemed desperate, and flight was considered the only resource when a brave speech of the empress Theodora animated her hearers, and it was resolved to stay and fight. A few agents well supplied with money went out and endeavored to win back the loyalty of the Blues, insinuating that the new emperor would be certain to support the Greens. The general Belisarius rallied the loyal troops, led them into the Hippodrome, and charged the crowd. Taken by surprise and jammed helplessly together, the mob

was cut down mercilessly. Over thirty thousand perished. In a few hours the rebellion had collapsed.

Immediately after the restoration of peace, Justinian set about rebuilding the burnt edifices on a scale of greater magnificence than before. Now was begun the great Cathedral of the Holy Wisdom, or S. Sophia, one of the wonders of the world and the grandest memorial of the reign. The exterior is a plain mass of brickwork, but the interior is of surpassing splendor. It is a great hall two hundred and seventy feet long lined throughout with the rarest marbles and costliest alabasters. At the sides are rows of lofty columns, above which are galleries reserved for women; at the ends, half-domes rise up towards the great dome a hundred and eighty feet high, which, says a contemporary, 'seems to float in the air.' The roof was plated with pure gold, the altar was of the same precious metal. One chronicler tells us that the cost of the church and furniture amounted to the incredible sum of fourteen millions sterling.

After the public buildings we come to the residential quarters, in which the life of the ordinary citizen was spent. The greater part of the area within the walls was covered with a network of narrow lanes, fifteen feet or less in width; and projecting balconies so often encroached upon these that, as one citizen complained, 'it was impossible to see the sun.' At night these lanes were lighted with oil-flares.

The houses of the wealthy were of two or more stories, set around a central courtyard in which were fountains and plants. The middle and poorer classes lived largely in blocks of flats which rose to an immense height over the narrow streets; the law limited the altitude to one hundred feet. The ground floor of such a building was often given up to shops, rows of open booths like the shops in the bazaars of Cairo or Damascus to-day. The luxury trades generally collected together in large covered bazaars, as again we find in the modern Orient. An elaborate system of drainage was installed from the first.



IMPERIAL SPECTATORS AT THE GAMES

In A.D. 390 Theodosius erected in the Hippodrome at Constantinople a syenite obelisk brought from Heliopolis. Bas-reliefs on the pedestal depict incidents in the Hippodrome. Here the emperor is shown with three of his family watching the spectacle from his box and attended by guards and officials.

Photo, A. J. B. Wace in Journal of Hellenic Studies

Outside the walls the shores of the Bosporus were lined almost as thickly as to-day with villas and suburban residences. No statistics or census returns have come down to us, but several circumstances suggest that under Justinian the city was considerably more crowded than at present, and that we are safe in estimating the population at a minimum of a million. Perhaps it was much more.

The water supply for this vast multitude was a problem. Normally it was brought from the forest of Belgrade, north of the city, by aqueducts of which one still remains a conspicuous ruin in the center of Constantinople. But as in time of war these aqueducts might be cut by an enemy, huge underground cisterns were constructed within the city. Some of the largest of these were built by Justinian.

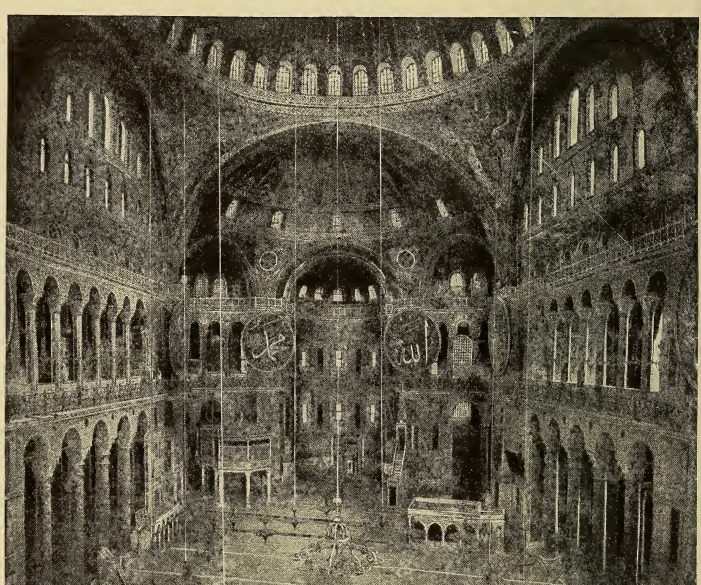
Dress was quite different from the

classical. Men wore a tunic down to the knees, over which was a longer cloak reaching to the ankles, fastened with a clasp on the right shoulder. Shoes and long colored stockings completed the costume. Shaving was generally fashionable, though moustaches were often worn. The head was generally uncovered, while women, on the contrary, wore caps; their tunics were longer than the men's, reaching to the feet, and over it they wore a shawl. A load of jewelry was worn by both sexes. Much time and money were expended on the outward appearance, and the brightest colors, the costliest materials were in demand.

Color was a passion in this age, which on the other hand was comparatively indifferent to form and outline. The interiors of contemporary buildings glowed with marbles and glass mosaics whereas outside they were often bare and ugly. Similarly the sculpture and carving of the period that has come down to us is poor and heavy, while painting and the minor arts show a sad degeneration from the days of Old Rome.

Mental Culture at a Low Level

Nor was mental culture at a high level. Excepting the Christian Fathers the age was barren of literature beyond some very second-rate chronicles. Education was much as it had been in the



S. SOFIA: A WORLD'S MASTERPIECE OF CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE

Byzantine architecture sprang into full glory with S. Sofia, built by Justinian in 532-7, the cathedral church of Christian Constantinople and from 1453 until quite recently the principal mosque of Stamboul. The central square is covered by a vast dome, and east and west hemicycles covered by semi-domes, with minor apses beyond, extend the church to a length of 260 feet; with a width of 250 feet over all it is thus almost an exact square in plan. This photograph gives an eastward view of the interior. The church is now a museum.

Photo, Sebah & Joallier

days of Old Rome—devoted to the study of the ancient classic writers and to the cultivation of a style of graceful writing and speaking. In technical and professional science, however, it is possible that some progress had been made. The men who built S. Sophia need not have feared comparison with the master-builders of Old Rome. In the army a high level of skill was reached by the engineers. The whole course of legal training was fundamentally changed by Justinian in connection with his mighty work of codifying and arranging into a system the enormous mass of precedents and decisions which had accumulated for centuries.

Women were often left entirely without schooling. A girl was kept strictly indoors under close supervision until she was married, which generally took place at the age of fourteen or fifteen. The marriage was arranged by the parents or a 'go-between,' and the bride was not permitted to see her intended husband before the marriage, which took place much after the old Roman fashion. In the evening a procession was formed and the bride was conveyed by torchlight to her future home amid music and much noisy revelry.

If the Byzantine girl was married in an Oriental way, there was nothing Oriental about her married life—no seclusion in the harem, no compulsion to appear veiled in the streets. Wives were in complete control of the household and enjoyed full liberty of action. We gather that they were prone to extravagance in dress and jewels and wasted hours daily at the baths, anointing themselves, and gossiping with their friends.

Social life on the whole must have been dull. Apart from the games in the Hippodrome and music hall entertainments of a vulgar kind, the only public amusement was going to church. This duty was undertaken in a true spirit of Christian gaiety. The women, upstairs in the galleries, decked in all their jewels and finery, chattered and giggled, while female thieves pushing among them reaped a rich harvest; the men in the nave below eyed the women or discussed the topics of the day. The sermon was often interrupted by bursts of applause; while an unpopular preacher ran the risk of being hissed out of his pulpit.

By Justinian's day the outward victory of Christianity was complete and paganism only lingered in a few districts. But in all classes, even the highest nobility, a strong sympathy for paganism often lingered. Christianity with the majority must have been only a thin veneer, and beneath it lurked a thoroughly pagan attitude towards life. Certainly the morals of the city had in no way improved since the days of Old Rome. The curious point is that this people could yet become fanatically stirred by discussions on obscure points of Christian theology and metaphysics which to us are almost unintelligible and which could not have been appreciated by many of them. Very imperfectly Christianized as they were, the people of Constantinople were by no means irreligious.

Trade and commerce seem to have been in a flourishing state. The building works of Justinian provided work for thousands, while the commerce of the Empire naturally centered in Constantinople not only as the largest center of population but because of its unique geographical advantages. In the north the lands around the Black Sea provided slaves, corn, skins and raw materials; from the far south, by way of the Red Sea, came negro slaves, ivory, gold and gems. In return the Empire exported manufactured stuffs and jewels. But the trade with the Far East is the most interesting economic factor. China sent large quantities of raw silk to supply the looms of the manufacturing towns; from India and Ceylon came pepper, gems, spices, sandalwood and many an article in high demand in the capital. The Empire in return sent glass, enamels and fine stuffs; but the market for these was limited, and most of the imports were paid for in cash. The balance of trade was steadily against the Empire, and the constant drain of gold to the East is one of the reasons for the gradual impoverishment both of Old and New Rome.

The economic condition of the population of Constantinople was probably not unprosperous. The nobles were immensely wealthy and lived in luxury little if at all inferior to that of the great days of Rome, and the poorer classes probably fared better than at Rome. Free rations or corn were supplied each week to the indigent; free amusement was pro-

JUSTINIAN, PATRON OF BYZANTINE ART, AND HIS EMPRESS THEODORA

Since the early Christian pictorial decorations of Byzantium have all been obliterated, a being heretical, by the Moslems, one has to look in the buildings of the West for examples o such work. Ravenna was the chief centre, and was visited in the sixth century by artist from Byzantium who worked these mosaics. On the left is the dancing-girl empress Theodora surrounded by her suite, and on the right is the Emperor Justinian, her husband, with S Maximianus on his left prominent in his entourage.

Photos by Alinari

vided by the games in the Hippodrome; and charitable institutions of all kinds were provided by the care of the emperors and the piety of the Church. We read of orphanages and almshouses, asylums and hospitals; even free medical attendance is recorded. The slaves, still a numerous section of the population, were bought and sold like cattle, but they were now protected against cruel treatment, and the Church had instituted a practice of liberating them.

But if the population of the capital had little cause for complaint, we must not forget that the lot of the country people was wretched in the extreme. Again and again some of the fairest provinces of Justinian's Empire were overrun by invaders and ruined—houses burnt, crops and plantations destroyed, and the inhabitants driven away into slavery.

Even when the Empire was at peace the taxation was so crushing that the vas majority of the population must hav been kept permanently only just abov the poverty line; and terrible as th taxation was, its evils were intensified b the method of collection employed. Th custom was to farm the taxes—to sel the taxation of a district in return fo a sum of ready money to a collector, wh then proceeded to recoup himself at th expense of the hapless ratepayers, ofte employing violence and torture to extor the last halfpenny.

Despite the military importance of th city, its inhabitants were completely un warlike. The only troops recruited withi the city were certain regiments of guards who paid heavily for the privilege o wearing uniform and hence were regarde rather as a source of revenue than as

serious military force. The army, nominally about 600,000 men, was composed partly of personal retainers of the commander, partly of foreign soldiers of fortune. When properly led, these mercenaries were troops of excellent quality but they were often difficult to control and, if left unpaid, as they very often were, tended to plunder friends and foes alike.

Of the navy we hear little, but it commanded the seas effectively in all Justinian's campaigns. The ships of war were galleys, long narrow vessels driven by oars, as in Roman days. In naval tactics a new weapon had been introduced, an elementary form of flame-thrower, which hurled pots of burning chemicals upon the enemy vessels; this is the 'Greek fire,' which in later centuries played a conspicuous part in the wars of the Empire.

Here a reference must be made to the historical problem of Justinian's reign. Our knowledge of events is derived from the writings of Procopius, a secretary on the staff of Belisarius in his early campaigns, and in his published works Belisarius is his hero, Justinian the wise and beneficent emperor. But Procopius left another work, the Secret History, which was not published till he was long dead; and this tells another tale.

It is a long and unsavory story of palace intrigue, in which Belisarius appears as utterly duped by his wife Antonina, a woman of the most abandoned character; Justinian as a monster deliberately planning the overthrow of the Empire by his perfidious policy. But the most astonishing revelations deal with the empress Theodora, who is described as the illegitimate child of an actress, at a time when to be an actress was to lead a life of open ignominy. She herself was bred for the stage, where she soon surpassed all her contemporaries in impudence and indecency. She went to Africa with an officer, who soon grew tired of her insolence and extravagance, and sent her back to Constantinople, where she was living in a state of poverty when she was seen by Justinian, then heir to the throne. Infatuated with her charms, he provided an establishment for her and eventually married her. Antonina was of even lower origin. It is by the intrigues of these two women that Procopius explains most of the events of the reign.

Obviously much of this must depend on hearsay evidence, but we must not conclude that the whole is the spiteful slander of a man disappointed, let us say, in his hopes of promotion.

What is beyond doubt is that Theodora, while she lived, exercised no ordinary influence on her husband and on the policy of his government. We have seen her save his crown by her firmness at the Nika revolt; and there need be little hesitation in following Procopius in ascribing to her personal likes and dislikes many of the puzzling vicissitudes of the reign. She was far more feared than Justinian. Her spies were everywhere; if she was capable of impulsive kindness to her friends, she never forgot an injury in word or deed. In person she was short and slight, with dark hair and pale skin. While capable of fierce energy, her ordinary life was self-indulgent to a degree. The greater part of every day was spent in bed, or at the toilet. She loved the pomp of empire and never moved without a retinue of several thousand guards and attendants.

In these details of private life Justinian contrasts strongly with his consort. He allowed himself but few hours to sleep, preferred the simplest food and clothes and spent the day immersed in details of public business. In person he was of middle stature, bald and clean shaven, with a round reddish face. A parallel has often been drawn between him and Louis XIV, the 'Grand Monarque.' Both were well-meaning and conscientious rulers; both were much influenced by women and priests; both were magnificent builders; both began by a series of brilliant conquests and both ended by reducing their subjects to bankruptcy.

RENAISSANCE OF PERSIAN POWER AND CULTURE

AN ACCOUNT OF LIFE MANNERS AND THOUGHT IN PERSIA DURING THE GLORIOUS PERIOD OF THE SASSANIDS

By Brig.-Gen. Sir PERCY SYKES, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G.

Author of History of Persia, etc.

In about A.D. 226 the Parthian Empire was overthrown by Ardashir, who slew Ardawan, the last Parthian monarch, in single combat. The victor claimed descent from the Achaemenian monarch Ardashir 'of the long hands' (better known as Artaxerxes II Longimanus), and established a national dynasty which was accepted with enthusiasm by his subjects, who acknowledged that its members possessed the Royal Splendor or Divine Right of Kings.

The Sassanid dynasty was no mere tribe of nomads, as the Parthians remained to the end. It was highly civilized, and, under its enlightened rule, Persia represented the East worthily in the arts of peace as well as in war.

Of predominant importance under the Sassanid monarchy was the national religion. It is recorded that Ardashire, in order to ensure unity of teaching, chose a 'mobed' of noted sanctity who, after undergoing elaborate ablutions, was given an opiate, under the influence of which he slept for seven days. Upon awaking, he dictated the entire faith of Aharamazda, or Ormuzd as at this period the god is usually called, and this was accepted as authoritative by priests and people. It is difficult to take the legend literally, but it clearly points to a careful revision of the Avesta, so far as it had been preserved in script and in the memory of the 'mobeds.' Under the Sassanid dynasty ecclesiastical influence was very powerful. Like the monks of medieval Europe, the priests alone were educated. They also possessed enormous properties. As may be supposed, they were fanatical and intolerant, and instigated persecutions of the Christians.

Under the Sassanid dynasty a new religion arose that has deeply influenced mankind. Its founder, Mani, was born in A.D. 215 and at an early age proclaimed his mission. For some years his influence was great, but, falling from favor, he undertook long journeys, during the course of which he visited India, Tibet, Turkistan and China. He returned to Persia after the death of Shapur I and was received with much favor by his successor, Hormisdas, who, however, reigned only for a year. Bahram I, upon ascending the throne, put Mani to death and his skin, stuffed with straw, was hung up over the city gate. (See also page 1282.)

Mani taught that everything was evil in an evil world and he consequently denounced marriage and the propagation of the human race. As in Zoroastrianism, the Light was set against the Darkness but, according to Mani, both were evil, and he preached a final conflagration which would mark the redemption of Light and its final dissociation from the irredeemable Darkness. The sect flourished widely, and manuscripts dealing with this pessimistic creed have recently been discovered in central Asia. It also spread along the northern coast of Africa, and in Europe its converts numbered many thousands. So serious was the heresy considered that, in 1209, Simon de Montfort led a crusade against the Albigenses, who had adopted it.

Throughout the four centuries of their rule the Sassanid monarchs waged war with the Roman Empire. Their most brilliant success was the capture of the emperor Valerian (died A.D. 260) by Shapur (Sapor) I (Chronicle 12), a feat of arms that resounded like a thunderclap through Europe and Asia. But, on the whole, Rome was stronger and certainly better organized. Diocletian, in

'97, advanced the rontier from the Euphrates to the Tigris and carefully administered he five new provnces. The disasrous expedition of Julian in 363 reulted in the fronier being pushed ack to the Euphrates, but Armenia never ceased o be a bone of ontention between he two powers.

No account of his period would e complete without some reference o Christianity under the Sassanid dynasty. The Christian religion undoubtedly reached Persia and Armenia very early indeed; but unfortunately, as in modern Turkey, there existed political complications which tended to hinder its spread. The Persian point of view was that Christian monks and nuns encouraged a pernicious practice by refraining from the procreation of children, and that all Christians defiled the earth by burials and the water by ablutions, and refused to hold fire sacred. When, in addition, it was realized that they were disloyal subjects of the King of Kings, persecutions started, which culminated in the martyrdom of the Catholicus, five bishops and one hundred priests in 339.

HUNTING IN THE GRAND MANNER AS PRACTISED BY CHOSROES II

Hunting was a favorite pastime of the Sassanid kings and, to judge from the reliefs in the Tak-i-Bustan near Kermanshah, was carried on with not a little ceremonial by Khusru Parviz (Chosroes II). In the boar hunt (shown above) the animals are driven into the water where the king awaits them in a boat; musicians in boats emphasize the artificial character of the royal sport.

From Friedrich Sarre, 'Die Kunst des Alten Persien'

Sixty years later Yezdigird I showed favor to the Christians, being influenced in their favor by the medical skill of a bishop, who had cured him of a malady and thereby gained considerable influence over him. In 409 a 'farman' was issued permitting Christians to worship openly and to rebuild their churches, this decree being as important to the Persian church as was the Edict of Milan to Christians in Europe. Yezdigird at one time even contemplated baptism, but late in his reign the Christian sect suffered another terrible persecution.

Under his successor, Bahram Gur, thousands of Christians fled across the Roman frontier. The Persian monarch demanded their surrender, which was refused; but as he was defeated in the hostilities that followed, he agreed to leave his Christian

WOMEN'S SOCIAL FREEDOM IN PERSIA

This fifth century silver dish furnishes a naïvely pleasant picture of domestic happiness in the Sassanian court, and indicates that the position of women was relatively good then. The king, Yezdigird II, or perhaps Balas, is presenting his consort with a necklet, smiling the while at her wide-eyed delight.

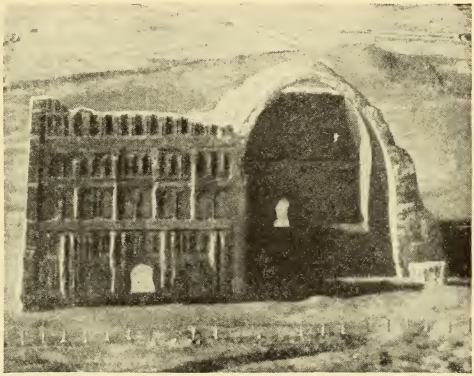
Kunsthandel, Berlin; from Sarre, 'Kunst des Alten Persien'

ELEPHANTS FOR HUNTING GAME

The Persians made large use of elephants, both in war and in sport. This portion of the relief on one of the arches at Taki-Bustan, which commemorate the reign of Khusru Parviz, shows elephants ridden by beaters driving the quarry—wild boars in this instance—towards the hunters.

From Friedrich Sarre, 'Die Kunst des Alten Persien'

though from the ruins which remain in Mesopotamia and south-western Persia, it is possible to reconstruct in plan the typical palaces of the Sassanids. They were built in oblong rectangles, with a superb arched Hall of Audience as the culminating feature in the center, a feature which is still retained in Persia both in public and private buildings. Behind the great hall was a series of courts surrounded by square rooms, opening one into another. The rooms were vaulted, this form being necessitated by the absence of timber; and possessed the great drawback of limiting buildings to a single story. Decoration was carried out by means of arched recesses, cornices and pilasters, as in the buildings of the Parthian dynasty.



CRUMBLING RELIC OF A MASTERPIECE OF SASSANIAN ARCHITECTURE

Ctesiphon reached the zenith of its splendor under Chosroes I who built the White Palace that was its greatest glory. Of this vast structure only the so-called Arch of Ctesiphon—actually the remains of the vaulted Hall of Audience—remains, and that, too, is crumbling rapidly.

Photo, Air Force Official, Crown Copyright

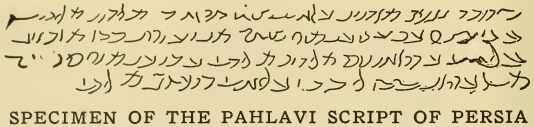
The celebrated Aywan-i-Kisra, or 'Arch of Chosroes,' at Ctesiphon has excited the admiration of generations of travellers approaching Bagdad up the Tigris. To-day there remains but a fragment of the superb vaulted Hall of Audience, which has a span of 85 feet. In it for generations the Great King, seated on his throne, presided over stately ceremonies at which the attendance was numbered by hundreds if not by thousands. At Kasr-i-Shirin, just across the modern Persian frontier from Irak, are the ruins of another palace. It was built on similar lines and was set in a walled park looking across a lake. Only the roots of palm trees and pomegranates are now visible, but the Arabs of the period waxed lyrical over the beauty of the gardens and the number of rare animals that roamed among them.

DIVINE SANCTION FOR THE DYNASTY

The most famous examples of Sassanian art are the bas-reliefs at Naksh-i-Rustam, recording the triumphs of Sassanian kings. This, the earliest, depicts the god Ormuzd, mounted and holding a scepter, presenting the cydaris or royal circlet to Ardashir beneath whose horse's hoofs the last Parthian monarch grovels.

From Sarre and Herzfeld, 'Iranische Felsreliefs'

The most famous examples of Sassanian art are to be found chiselled under the rock tombs of the Achaemenians at Persepolis. These bas-reliefs, seven in number, start



SPECIMEN OF THE PAHLAVI SCRIPT OF PERSIA

Pahlavi inscriptions cover a period of about 800 years from the foundation of the Sassanian Empire (c. A.D. 226). The cursive script is of Semitic origin and in it many Aramaic words are employed which are read as their Persian equivalents. The characters are ambiguous, lending themselves to many readings.

From Sykes, History of Persia

with two equestrian figures of somewhat archaic art, representing the god Ormuzd handing to Ardashir the 'cydaris' or royal circlet. The most important group depicts the capture of the Roman emperor Valerian by Shapur Sapor) I. In a garden near Kermanshah bas-reliefs of the time of Khusru Parviz represent a stag hunt and also a boar hunt. Elephants drive the quarry, and the monarch is portrayed as shooting from horseback at the stags; in the case of the boar hunt, he stands in a boat. Altogether these varied bas-reliefs, which are the supreme expression of Sassanian art, afford much interesting study.

The language of Persia during the Sassanid period was termed Pahlavi. It can be traced back to coins of the third century B.C. and it existed for over twelve hundred years; but during the latter half of this period its use was almost entirely confined to the copying of ancient works. An amazing peculiarity of the language is that, owing to the very strong element of Aramaic words, what was read was entirely different from what was written.

It may be asked what is the relation between Pahlavi and modern Persian. The reply is that it is as intelligible to an educated Persian as Chaucer is to an educated Englishman. Pahlavi inscriptions date back to the first two monarchs of the illustrious Sassanid dynasty; and the latest that is known is an inscription cut by Parsees who visited Buddhist caves near Bombay in A.D. 1021. Pahlavi literature mainly consists of translations of the Avesta or of religious works. Of non-religious works only eleven books have come down to us. Most unfortunately, no poems have been spared to us, and this is probably a great loss.

THE WAR OF THE CREEDS

A STUDY OF THE AGE WHEN THE WHOLE FABRIC OF SOCIETY COULD BE SHAKEN BY SUBTLE POINTS OF DOCTRINE

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THE triumph of Christianity in the Roman Empire was followed by a war of creeds within the Church itself which was profoundly to affect the world's history. To understand these controversies it is necessary to go back to their very beginnings. For the men of the first and second centuries there was nothing incredible in the idea of the divinity of Jesus Christ. The world was full of gods and daemons, impersonations of, or emanations from, the Ultimate Being.

Nor did it seem improbable that these should assume human form. Even intellectual pagans, as time went on, were willing to include Christ in their pantheon; they resented only the Christian claim to his exclusive deification. Christians, on the other hand, did not deny the existence of the pagan gods.

This makes it possible to understand how the title of Christ to be the Son of God could be accepted by the early Church in all its simplicity, with little disposition to examine into its philosophic basis. The spread of Christianity among the Gentiles, however, brought it into rivalry with other religions of salvation, against which it had to make good its exclusive claims, and also into touch with the higher thought of the age, which necessitated the evolution of a Christian philosophy that should reconcile the faith of the Gospel with human science.

In this the main difficulty was precisely that peculiar characteristic of Christianity which was its great source of strength as opposed to the other religions of salvation, namely, the substitution as the unique Savior of an historical personality, Jesus of Nazareth, for such purely mythical figures as Mithras. The attempt to give a philosophical basis to this new conception raised a host of exceedingly difficult questions.

What was meant by Christ's Sonship? In what relation did the Son stand to the Father? Was he truly God, co-equal and co-eternal with the Father, or was he a creation of, or an emanation from, the Godhead, "before all worlds," indeed, but not from all eternity? If he was truly God, was he also truly man? If he was, indeed, "perfect man and perfect God," in what relation did his manhood stand to his Godhead? If the Second Person of the Trinity was indeed "conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, and was made man," were there in Christ, thus incarnate, two natures and two wills, or only one nature and one will? If Christ as God possessed infinite knowledge and wisdom, and as man was born without sin, how could he be truly man, since man is by his nature limited and sinful? How could he be subject to human temptations?

BEFORE touching on the controversies which arose out of the attempts to answer these questions it may be well to explain why they aroused a passion so intense that, even when the barbarians were thundering at the gates of Rome, educated men could think that the thing most worth fighting for was some obscure point of doctrine.

The explanation lies partly in the conditions in the Roman Empire. Cut off from all share in public affairs, disgusted with the cruelty and obscenity of a world which they could influence only in one way, people who thought at all often found a refuge in the various mystery cults which promised to the initiated release from the bondage of material things; and, according to the ideas of the time, to follow the upward path of salvation successfully it was necessary not only to perform all the prescribed rites, but to be armed at each stage of the journey with the correct formula.

This conception, which found its extremest expression in the Gnostic system,

MOSAICS IN AN ARIAN BAPTISTERY

The church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin at Ravenna, one of three intended for the Arian worship, was built 493-526, under the Arian Ostrogoths. The mosaics inside the dome over the Arian baptistery representing Christ's baptism by John, are closely copied from San Giovanni in Fonte, the baptistery of the Orthodox, but they show diminished technique and an increased clumsiness in the stylistic detail.

Photo, Alinari

was common also to the Christian Church. "Whosoever would be saved, it is above all necessary that he hold the Catholic faith"—there was no difference of opinion as to that. The question was: What is the Catholic faith?

To the philosophic minds of the time the difference between "homoousios" (of one substance) and "homoiousios" (of like substance) might spell the difference between monotheism and polytheism. To the mass of Christians, including the clergy, it spelt the difference between heaven and hell. Hence the fury which theological controversies provoked.

The union of Church and State, instead of providing a stable religious foundation for the Empire, only caused fresh divisions as controversy begot controversy. And, since in these transcendental debates no argument could ever be conclusive, they had to be settled, as often as not, by the intervention of the civil power.

Contact with the Hellenic world very early led to attempts to interpret the mysteries of the Christian faith in the terms of Greek philosophy, a process which, so far as the books of the New Testament are concerned, is most conspicuous in the fourth gospel. The writer of this life of Christ was clearly influenced by Platonism. Jesus is no longer the simple Son of Man of the earlier gospel, he is the Logos of Plato's philosophy: "In the beginning was the Word (Logos), and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." He is made to announce himself as eternally pre-existent: "Before Abraham was, I am." Thus early, then, the conception of Christ as the Divine Logos had found its way into the Church. There was as yet, however, no fixed doctrine as to the relation of the Logos to the Godhead on the one hand and to the human Christ on the other.

This early led to fundamental differences of opinion. The "heretics" known as Docetae (from Greek *dokein*, to seem) held that Christ lived and suffered only in appearance, a doctrine adopted and

developed by the Christian Gnostics and later by the Manichaeans. More important were those who rejected the separate personal subsistence of the Logos, an opinion which was dominant in the Church at the close of the second century. These, again, were divided into two schools: the Adoptionists, who held that Christ was a mere man, miraculously conceived, indeed, but adopted as the Son of God only by the supreme degree in which he had been filled with the divine wisdom and power, and the Modalists, who taught that Christ was a manifestation of God himself.

Of these latter, the strict Monarchians, whose chief spokesman was the Roman presbyter Sabellius, held that God was One, and the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit were not three Persons, but only three modes or expressions of the one Deity. It is to be noted that at Rome the trinitarian doctrine—that the Father, Son and Holy Ghost are three persons in one Godhead—prevailed before the close of the third century.

It was not, however, Rome but Alexandria, where East and West met, that was the nursery of these subtle disputations. Here, towards the close of the second century, Pantaenus and Clement began to develop Christian ideas with the aid of Greek philosophy. Among their pupils was Origen, of whose teaching it must here suffice to say that, in combating the neo-Platonists, he fell under their influence and transmuted the Christian faith into ideas which bear the impress of their thought. For him, since all things visible are but transient images of things which have their real existence only in the other-world of ideas, the historic Christ fell into the background and thought was to be concentrated on the Logos, who is with the Father from all eternity, and by whose incarnation and passion the rule of devils upon earth shall be ended and the souls of men released from the penal bondage of the flesh.

About the middle of the third century Paul of Samosata, a disciple of the Alexandrian school and bishop of Antioch, attempted to explain Origen's doctrine. He taught that, as the One God could not appear on earth "substantially," he could not become a person in Jesus Christ, but that he filled the man Jesus with his Logos (Wisdom) and his Power. This idea was taken up and developed by Paul's pupil Lucian.

LUCIAN, indeed, maintained that the Logos did become a person in Jesus Christ, but saw in the Logos a second essence, created by God before all worlds, who came down to earth and assumed a human body, in which he filled the place of the intellectual or spiritual principle. According to Lucian, then, Christ was not "perfect man," for the personal element in him was a divine essence, nor was he "perfect God," since the divine essence, having become a person, was other than the One God and of another nature. It was this idea that the "arch-heretic" Arius took up and developed.

Arius, who was minister of a fashionable church in Alexandria and an eloquent preacher, was rash enough to attack his bishop for describing the Logos as "ever-begotten" and "unbegotten-begotten," which seemed to him to be rank blasphemy and heresy. In his zeal for the unity of the Godhead, moreover, he not only denounced Bishop Alexander's definition, but proceeded to propound a counter-definition of his own. The Son, he maintained, is a created being, to whom the Father before all time gave an existence out of "not-being." This raised a fresh storm, which might have remained purely local had it not synchronized with momentous events in the political world. For Constantine, when in 324 he became sole emperor, had decided to make Christianity the state religion, and a quarrel which threatened to split this religion into two hostile camps was, therefore, very unwelcome to him. When, therefore, Bishop Alexander excommunicated Arius, and the latter appealed to Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia, who sympathized with him, the emperor thought it time to intervene.

Since Christianity was to be the religion of the Empire, it was clear that an authoritative decision must be reached as to its essential doctrines. The question was how. Constantine's solution was the first general council of the Catholic Church, which met in A.D. 325 at Nicaea, in Bithynia, under the presidency of the emperor himself. Before dealing

with the work of this momentous assembly, however, a few words must be said about another rival religion, the Manichaean, which was spreading rapidly over the Empire, notably among the remnants of the Gnostics and the worshippers of Mithras, the downfall of whose cult had begun when, in A.D. 275, the Roman legions were withdrawn from Dacia.

Mani, or Manichaeus, who was crucified in the year 276, was a noble Persian, whose faith was described by himself as a blend of the Magian cult of his native land with the Christian religion, and who styled himself "the apostle of Jesus the friend in the love of the Father, of God." He explained the eternal puzzle of the co-existence of good and evil—as Zarathustra had done—by imagining the eternal existence of a kingdom of Light, ruled over by God, and a kingdom of Darkness, ruled over by Satan, which are in enduring conflict. In the visible world the elements of Light, the spiritual elements, have become entangled with the elements of Darkness, the material elements, and the problem of salvation is how to disentangle them, and so to restore the imprisoned spirits of men to their source in the realms of Light.

ELECT MANICHAEANS CELEBRATING THEIR EUCHARIST

Comparatively little is known of the ritual worship of the Manichaeans, but they undoubtedly had sacraments corresponding to Christian baptism and the Supper of the Lord. The latter seems to be depicted in this illuminated manuscript, the occasion, perhaps, being the annual festival of the 'Chair of Mani,' held to commemorate his crucifixion in March, 276. The celebrant is ceremonially offering bread and fruit, the only food permitted to the inner circle of 'Elect' Manichaeans.

From Dr. A. von Le Coq, 'Die Buddhistiche Spätantike in Mittelasien' (Manichaean Miniatures)

According to Mani, the method was to abstain from all the elements which belong to the realm of Darkness—in other words, a rigid asceticism. Thus the Manichaean Church enforced a stern morality. But, just as the Catholic Church had in course of time to suffer two standards of life even in its clergy, the "secular" and the "religious," so the Manichaean Church was forced to make a distinction between the "elect" or "perfect," who practised the most extreme asceticism, and the "hearers" (*auditores*) or catechumens, who were bound only to avoid idolatry and witchcraft, to lead virtuous lives and, above all, not to take life in any form.

Towards the end of the fourth century Manichaeism was not only a serious rival to Christianity, but had exercised a great influence on its teaching and practice, more especially in promoting the ascetic ideals which were gaining an ever-growing ascendancy in the Church. Under the influence of Manichaeism, indeed, or in competition with it, asceticism began to run riot in the Church. The Council of Nicaea, it is true, rejected a proposal to enforce celibacy on the clergy, but nothing was done to curb the growing practice of pious self-torture. Dirt and disease became the insignia of saintship; loathsome fakirs exhibited their filth and their sores for the veneration of the faithful, while others invented still more ingenious methods of self-discipline or self-advertisement, lying on beds of iron spikes, or, like St. Simeon Stylites, squatting for years on the top of a pillar.

The imagination of the age was impressed by these lofty examples, and so, while the population of the Empire declined and had to be replenished by barbarian settlers, the horde of fanatical monks increased and multiplied. They constituted the reserve battalions which the leaders of religious factions

could call to their aid when argument had failed and appeal was made to force. They invaded the very councils of the Church. They reinforced and led the savage mobs of the cities in their attacks on "heretics" and pagans; and, unlike the Manichaeans, they did not shrink from shedding blood. Decidedly, Manichaean dualism had invaded the Church, whose members were doing their best to prove the natural depravity of human nature. But Manichaeism as a system could not be tolerated in an Empire of which the ideal was discipline and unity, and successive emperors took measures to suppress it.

SINCE the object of Constantine in summoning the general council in 325 was to adjust the differences which were distracting the Church and since he himself presided over the deliberations, it was natural that on the all-important question of the relation of the Son to the Father the outcome should have been a compromise. The creed as defined at Nicaea was not the "Nicene Creed" as now recited in the churches, which was the work of the first Council of Constantinople in 381, but the definition of the relation of Christ to the Godhead is substantially identical.

The creed of Eusebius of Caesarea, on which the Nicene formula was based, described Christ as "God of God, Light of Light, only begotten Son, first born of all creatures, before all worlds begotten of the Father," thus embodying Origen's doctrine of the Son as a spiritual creation, which Origen himself, however, had not thought to be inconsistent with the Son being "of one substance" with the Father. The Nicene Council suppressed the first part of this teaching of Origen, which played into the hands of the Arians, and laid stress on the second. The formula adopted proclaimed belief in "one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only begotten, that is of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, of one substance (homoousios) with the Father."

THIS was sufficiently explicit to satisfy the Homoousians; but, since it did not explicitly exclude the Origenist interpretation, it was possible also for the majority of their opponents to accept it. The few recalcitrants, including Arius himself, were excommunicated, while Eusebius of Nicomedia was banished to Gaul. The emperor Constantine fondly hoped that peace had been restored to the Church. He was mistaken. There was as yet no belief in the infallibility of general councils, and there was widespread opposition to the doctrine formulated at Nicaea. This opposition centered round Arius, while "orthodoxy" found its chief and at times almost its only champion in Athanasius, who played a leading part in the council and had succeeded Alexander as bishop of Alexandria. In the teeth of this new tempest Constantine wavered.

In A.D. 328 he recalled Eusebius of Nicomedia from exile, and this prelate, like his namesake of Caesarea, was now denouncing the formula "of one substance" as liable to heretical misinterpretation and as having no warrant in Holy Scripture. Two years later the emperor allowed Arius to return to Alexandria, and in 335, the presence of the rival champions having turned the city into an ecclesiastical bear-garden, he tried to calm matters down by sending Athanasius into exile in Gaul. Finally, since the latter seemed now to be alone against all the world, he summoned Arius to Constantinople, where in 336 he suddenly died—smitten, as the Athanasians believed, by the hand of God—before he could be formally readmitted to the communion of the Church. Constantine himself died in the following year, but the quarrel continued under his successors. The Arian party itself split into factions. The Anomoioi held with Arius that the Son was unlike ("anomoios") the Father. The Homoioi believed in a general likeness of the Son to the Father. The Homoiousians maintained a "likeness of nature" between the Father and the Son.

This latter, "semi-Arian" doctrine became the dominant creed in the East under Constantine's successor Constantius. But though he became sole emperor in 351, he could never succeed in forcing it on the West, which as time went on rallied to the support of Athanasius. In the East, too, a reaction presently set in, and when, in A.D. 381, the council summoned to Constantinople by the emperor Theodosius reaffirmed the Nicene creed, it had behind it the mass of public

opinion. Henceforth the Arian doctrine remained orthodox only among the Goths, and it perished finally, in the sixth century.

Meanwhile, the seed sown in the Arian controversy produced rich crops of fresh heresies in rapid rotation. The Council of Nicaea had defined the substantial unity of the Father and the Son, but not the manner in which the divine and the human are united in Christ. This was a problem which puzzled even St. Augustine, but he was content to bow in faith before so great a mystery. Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, was more daring or more rash. He had been a vigorous opponent of Arius, and his desire to emphasize the divinity of Christ and the unity of his person led him to deny the existence of a rational human spirit in Christ's human nature, this being replaced by the Logos, so that his body was a glorified and spiritualized form of humanity.

Even bolder was Theodore of Mopsuestia (350-428). He accepted the Nicene formula, but in seeking to explain the union of the divine and the human in Christ he came periously near the views of Paul of Samosata. For him the Logos assumed a complete manhood, which, like any other human being, had to pass through all the stages of moral growth. But in this process the Logos only dwelt in and supported the man Jesus, and was not essentially connected with him, since the finite cannot contain the infinite.

Out of these speculations grew the further question, whether in Christ the divine nature ("physis") was, as it were, absorbed into the human nature, so that only one ("monos") nature existed in him, or whether the two natures remained distinct. The "Monophysite" view was held by the Alexandrians, and it was they who, in their zeal for the perfect union of the two natures, championed the custom, which was becoming very general, of describing the Virgin Mary as "the Mother of God" ("theotokos"). The propriety of this description was denounced, among others, by Theodore of Mopsuestia. It was not, however, till his pupil Nestorius became bishop of Constantinople, in 428, that the "theotokos" question became acute, with disastrous results for Church and Empire.

Nestorius began his episcopate by a vigorous suppression of heretics, but when Anastasius, a disciple of Theodore of Mopsuestia, was attacked for preaching against the Theotokos, he came forward in his defence, declaring that to style the Blessed Virgin the Mother of God was blasphemous and absurd, since God could not have a mother. This pronouncement caused pandemonium in the Church. Cyril of Alexandria entered the lists against Nestorius. Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus, the most notable theologian of his age, took up the challenge on the side of Nestorius. Both Cyril and Nestorius appealed to the arbitrament of Celestine, bishop of Rome.

Unfortunately for Nestorius, he was not in good odor with the pope, for he supported his master Theodore's objection to the doctrine of original sin championed by Jerome and Augustine, and was inclined to favor the followers of Pelagius, who taught that original sin consists, not "in the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered in the offspring of Adam," but in "the following of Adam"—a doctrine which had just been condemned at Rome. A synod summoned to the Lateran in 430 accordingly upheld the style of "Mother of God," and entrusted Cyril with the task of persuading or forcing Nestorius to retract. The consequent turmoil reached such a pitch that the joint emperors, Valentinian III and Theodosius II, determined to summon another general council to settle this and other questions.

The council began to assemble at Ephesus in 431. Nestorius himself, under the protection of an armed escort, set out for the place of meeting. But he never reached it, for Cyril, who presided, finding himself surrounded by a respectable number of his own partisans, did not wait for him, and both he and Theodoret were condemned unheard. This, of course, settled nothing, and Theodosius ordered the bishops to go to Chalcedon, where he would be in a better position to keep them in order. Since he was inclined to Monophysitism, the result was a foregone conclusion. The Council upheld the doctrine that the

Blessed Virgin is the Mother of God, which was henceforth that of the Catholic Church.

The results were momentous. Nestorius himself, excommunicated and deprived of his see, became a wandering exile. But the outcome of his condemnation was the establishment of a new communion, that known as the Nestorian Church, though it traces its doctrines to Theodore of Mopsuestia, "the Interpreter," rather than to Nestorius. This great Church, which at one time not only embraced the bulk of the population of Syria, Iraq and Khorassan but had established bishoprics in Central Asia, India and China, was shattered by the successive Tartar invasions, culminating in A.D. 1400 in that of Timur, and is now represented only by the luckless "Assyrians," who seem to be doomed, like Nestorius, to be wandering exiles.

Actually the dispute about the style "Theotokos" was the first stage of the controversy concerning the One of Two Natures in Christ, with which it was closely connected. It was not, however, until 448 that this controversy became acute. In this year Eutyches, an aged Constantinopolitan abbot, was accused by his diocesan, Eusebius of Dorylaeum, and by Domnus, patriarch of Antioch, of propagating the doctrine of the One Nature, and was haled before a local synod presided over by Flavian, the patriarch of Constantinople, which deposed and excommunicated him. He appealed to the Emperor Theodosius and to Leo, bishop of Rome, while his friends wrote on his behalf to Dioscorus, the new bishop of Alexandria. The emperor, with whom Flavian was out of favor, took up the case, and it was decided to submit it to a general council which was to meet at Ephesus under the presidency of the bishop of Alexandria.

This council, which met in 449, outdid all others in the violence of its proceedings. Dioscorus, like his predecessor Cyril, did not await the arrival of all the fathers. Flavian, indeed, was there, armed with the famous letter in which Pope Leo defined the orthodox doctrine; but the papal legates did not arrive before the proceedings closed. In any case, however, argument would have had little weight in this assembly, for Dioscorus and his partisans were reinforced by a rabble of Syrian monks who, with the active assistance of the bishops, routed their opponents with fists and cudgels. Flavian himself died of his injuries, thus gaining the crown of martyrdom. The council, amid curses and howls of fanatical rage, condemned Flavian of Constantinople, Domnus of Antioch and Eusebius of Dorylaeum. Eutyches was justified, and the doctrine of the One Nature declared to be that of the Catholic Church.

Such procedure excited comment even in that violent age, but the fact that the emperor Theodosius sympathized with the Monophysite view prevented any immediate action being taken. On his death in 450, however, his orthodox successor Marcian, at the instance of Pope Leo, summoned another council, which met at Chalcedon, in 451, under the presidency of the papal legates. This reversed the decision of the "robber synod" of Ephesus, reaffirmed the creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople, and on the question immediately at issue adopted the definition given by Leo in his letter to Flavian, which compromised between the two extremes by declaring that Christ had two distinct natures, each perfect in itself, yet perfectly united in one person, who was at once both God and man. The propriety of styling the Blessed Virgin the Mother of God was also reaffirmed.

However, the definition of the Two Natures at Chalcedon did not end the controversy. It was denounced as but another form of the Nestorian heresy, and the Monophysites, who were strongly represented among the monks, rose in revolt. In Alexandria, where the Monophysite patriarch Dioscorus had been superseded by the orthodox Proterius, there were bloody riots, in which the savage monks of the Thebaid once more took part. Proterius was murdered, and the people elected the Monophysite Timothy Aelurus in his stead. Similiar scenes were witnessed at Antioch.

In face of this opposition the emperors in time began to waver. The emperor Leo I, indeed, dealt faithfully with Timothy and Peter, but in 482 the emperor Zeno decided to try conciliation and, on the advice of Acacius, patriarch

of Constantinople, issued the so-called "Henotikon," which, while condemning Nestorius and Eutyches, ignored the definitions of Chalcedon and accepted the doctrine of Cyril of Alexandria. This document, however, only poured oil on the flames. An angry correspondence followed between Rome and Constantinople, which ended by Pope Felix excommunicating Acacius; and, though the latter died in 489, the quarrel only ended on the death of the emperor Anastasius twenty-nine years later.

It was under this emperor that Monophysitism reached its highest point. Justin I, who succeeded him in 518, reversed his religious policy, deposed Severus, the Monophysite patriarch of Constantinople, and by similiar measures succeeded in making orthodox doctrine dominant in the chief centres of his Asiatic dominions, and in effecting a reconciliation with Rome.

But, though suppressed in what remained of the Roman Empire, it survived beyond its borders. In Egypt, indeed, it had become the symbol of a distinctive national consciousness, and it still remains the creed of the Coptic Church and of its daughter Church in Abyssinia. In Asia, too, it survived, and still survives. The Armenian Church from the first rejected the definition of Chalcedon, and remains Monophysite. So does the poor remnant of the once powerful Church founded in Syria and Asia Minor by Jacob Bardaeus in the sixth century, and known accordingly as the Jacobite Church.

The luckless emperor Heraclius was very conscious of the effect of the religious dissensions in weakening the resisting power of the Empire, and he made another attempt to win over the persecuted Monophysites of Egypt and Syria. The formula of conciliation was suggested to him by the patriarch Sergius of Constantinople. Since the objection of the Monophysites to the established doctrine of the Two Natures was that this destroyed the vital unity of Christ's person, could this not be met by laying down that the Two Natures,

MONOPHYSITE VESTMENTS OF THE COPTIC CHURCH

The Coptic Church of Egypt is of peculiar interest as representing the ancient Church of Alexandria, whose Monophysite faith it preserves. This sixth-century fresco from Wadi Sarga near Asyut represents the Three Children of Babylon in the fiery furnace, with five attendant figures in the foreground wearing the vestments in use in the Coptic Church before the Arab conquest. They include a white alb ('stoicharion,' or 'tumiak'), a maniple ('kisnan') on the left arm, and a chasuble ('phainolion').

British Museum

while quite distinct in his One Person, had but one "energy" or active operation? To the emperor, who knew more about soldiers than about theologians, this seemed a brilliant idea. In 622, during his march into Persia, he talked the matter over with the head of the Monophysite Church in Armenia, with results so promising that, after his return from the victorious campaign, he continued the negotiations and finally, in 626, issued an edict forbidding any mention of "two energies" in Christ.

At first the experiment seemed likely to succeed. The metropolitan, Cyrus of Phasis, convinced by the imperial arguments, was rewarded with the patriarchate of Alexandria, and in 633 he succeeded in reconciling the Monophysites of his province on the basis of recognizing in Christ's person "one divine-human energy." In spite of the opposition in Egypt of a Palestinian monk named Sophronius, all seemed to be going well, especially when Pope Honorius wrote friendly letters to the patriarch Sergius expressing agreement with his views.

But Sophronius, who became patriarch of Jerusalem in 634, was not to be silenced, and the thunder of his denunciations of the new heresy of the "one energy" raised so violent a storm that Heraclius found it necessary once more to intervene. In 638, accordingly, he issued an "exposition of faith," drawn up by Sergius, in which the use of the phrase "one energy" was forbidden, as seeming to the weaker brethern to conflict with the doctrine of the Two Natures, while the expression "two energies" was likewise forbidden, as suggesting that Christ had two wills, whereas the orthodox doctrine was that Christ was possessed of but one will.

A JACOBITE PRELATE

Christianity reached India in the second century, and in the fourth the Church of Malabar was founded by Nestorian missionaries. In 1599 it accepted the Orthodox Catholic faith; but a little later a schismatical party joined the Jacobite Church and adopted the Jacobite rite.

From Fortescue, 'The Lesser Eastern Churches'

This only made matters worse. Pope Honorius, whose name was for centuries to be included in the heretical black list of the Roman Church, died this same year, and his immediate successors, Severinus and John IV, were opposed to the Monothelite view (from Greek *monos*, one, and *thelein*, to will). In Italy and Africa, too, Maximus, abbot of Chrysopolis, stirred up so violent an agitation that, in 648, the emperor Constans II withdrew the edict of Heraclius and issued instead a "typus," in which all discussion of the questions of the singleness or duality of either the energy or the will of Christ was henceforth forbidden under penalties. So far from producing peace, however, this roused the Church of Rome to fresh energy, and in the following year a synod of Western bishops at the Lateran, presided over by Pope Martin, defined the doctrine of the Two Wills in unambiguous terms and condemned the Edict of Heraclius and the Typus of Constans.

Such a defiance of the imperial authority could not be tolerated. At the emperor's command Pope Martin was

PATRIARCH OF THE EAST

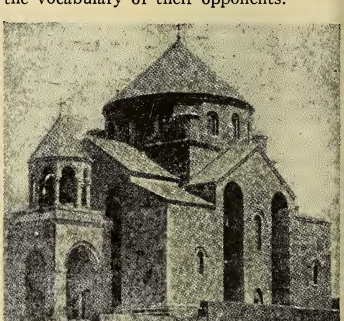
The ecclesiastical head of the Nestorian Church is the Patriarch-Catholicus. He is chosen always from the hereditary 'patriarchal family,' and assumes the title 'Mar' (lord) and the name Simon following his own Christian name.

From Fortescue, 'The Lesser Eastern Churches'

arrested, sent as a prisoner to Constantinople, and ultimately banished to the Chersonese, where he died, in September, 655. Persecution of the refractory followed, in the course of which Maximus, too, earned his titles of saint and confessor; and this persecution was so far successful that for some thirteen years no more was heard of the question. With the accession of the emperor Constantine Pogonatus in 668, however, the controversy once more revived, and assumed such dimensions that he decided to submit the matter to a general council, to be held at Constantinople in 680.

MEANWHILE, in 679, a synod was assembled in Rome by Pope Agatho, by which it was decided not to suffer any modification of the decisions of the Lateran synod of 649. As for the main point at issue, the pope himself suggested the solution. "The will," he said, "is the property of the nature, so that, as there are two natures, so there are two wills; but the human will ever determines itself in harmony with the divine will." This view was endorsed by the Council of Constantinople, which anathematized those who had supported the Monothelite doctrine.

Thus, after six hundred years, the questions arising out of the belief in the union of the divine and human natures in Christ were settled, so far as what is usually known as the Catholic Church is concerned. It must not be forgotten, however, that this unity was only reached, as it was only to be maintained, by the extrusion of those who dissented from the views of the majority at any given time. The intrigues and violence which too often characterized the proceedings of the councils and so deprived them of much of their moral weight, and the fact that these councils had, at different times and under different influences, come to the most contradictory decisions, made it natural for those who differed from these decisions to dispute an authority which was not based on any long tradition. The "heretical" Churches, then, which refused to accept this or that conciliar definition of faith, must not be thought of as consciously dissenting from Catholic Christendom. On the contrary, they denied the names of Catholic and Orthodox to those who did accept the definition which they regarded as heretical, and claimed these names for themselves. "Arians," "Nestorians," and the rest existed only in the vocabulary of their opponents.



EARLY MONOPHYSITE SANCTUARY

Armenia officially accepted Christianity about A.D. 290. In the sixth century the Armenian Church held to the Monophysite doctrine and established its center at Echmiadzin, scene of the martyrdom of the virgin saint Hritsime, to whom this church is dedicated.

G. A. Rivoira, 'Moslem Architecture'

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XV

A.D.
633 Suppression of pretenders in Arabia. Khalid in Irak.
634 Roman defeat on Yermak. Omar khalif, to 644.
635 Fall of Damascus.
636 Fall of Antioch. Heraclius evacuates Syria.
637 Fall of Jerusalem and of Ctesiphon. Founding of Kufa and Basra.
639 Pepin the Old dies.
Moawiya (Ommiad) governor of Syria.
640 Amru invades Egypt.
641 Heraclius dies. Constans II emperor.
Amru takes Alexandria. Cairo founded.
Chindaswinth k. of Visigoths to 652.
642 Persian Empire ends at battle of Nehavend.
Grimoald son of Pepin mayor, to 656.
644 Omar assassinated; Othman khalif.
646 Alexandria recovered and lost again.
647 Amru in Egypt superseded by Abu Sarh.
649 Beginning of Saracen fleet.
651 Moawiya begins invasions of Asia Minor.
Othman's recension of the Koran.
652 Naval victory of Abu Sarh off Alexandria.
655 Naval victory over Constans at Phœnix.
Captivity and death of Pope Martin.
656 Othman murdered. Ali khalif to 660.
Revolt of Zobeir and Talha.
657 Moawiya and Ali in conflict; battle of Siffin.
658 The "Arbitration." Rise of the Kharejites.
Constans campaigns against Slavs.
659 Truce between Moawiya and Constans.
660 Ali killed. Moawiya khalif, Hasan resigning. Ommiad Khalifate to 750.
Ebroin mayor of Neustria.
662 Lombard crown usurped by Grimoald of Benevento. Constans invades Italy.
663 Constans retires from Italy to Syracuse.
664 Constans organizes campaigns in Africa.
668 Constans killed; Constantine Pogonatus emperor. Renewal of war with Moawiya; Saracen successes in Asia Minor.
671 Berthari Lombard king to 680.
673 Siege of Constantinople; Saracens repulsed.
673-677 Defeats of Saracens by Constantine.
676 Moawiya has his son Yezid elected successor.
678 Moawiya makes peace with Constantine.
Ebroin's supremacy over Franks established.
679 Bulgar kingdom established in Mœsia.
680 Decline of Visigoth monarchy.
Yezid I succeeds Moawiya. Fall of Husein, son of Ali, at Kerbela.
681 Abdallah Ibn Zobeir claims Khalifate at Mecca.
Ebroin killed. Seven years of civil war.
683 Yezid's army takes and sacks Medina. Mecca saved by Yezid's death.
685 Abdallah's lieutenants overcome Shiahs and Kharejites at Kufa and Basra.
English invasion broken by Scots; Nechtansmere.
Constantine dies. Justinian II emperor.
686 Merwan killed. Abd el-Malik Ommiad khalif.
687 Pepin the Young, grandson of Pepin the Old, wins battle of Testry over Neustrians.
687-714 Pepin rules the Franks as mayor of east and west; recovers lost authority over Germans on the east, West Frisia, Thuringia, Swabia; develops Christian missions.
689 Hajjaj for Abd el-Malik wrests Irak from Abdallah.
690 S. Willibrord "apostle of Frisia," to 693.
691 Abd el-Malik's troops besiege Abdallah in Mecca.
Justinian's campaign in Bulgaria.
692 Fall of Abdallah. Abd el-Malik sole khalif.
693 Justinian's campaign in Cilicia; Sebastopolis.

A.D.
695 Justinian exiled. Leontius emperor.
698 Saracens finally capture Carthage. Continuous progress of Musa in Mauretania.
Leontius deposed. Tiberius III emperor.
705 Return and restoration of Justinian II. Reign of terror to 711.
Walid succeeds Abd el-Malik; to 715.
709 Koteiba captures Bokhara.
710 Roderic, last Visigothic king of Spain.
711 Philippicus kills Justinian and usurps crown.
Saracens under Tarik invade Spain and annihilate Spanish-Gothic army on the Guadalete. End of Visigothic dominion.
Saracens overrun all Spain; resistance maintained only in N.W.
Saracen fleet takes possession of Sardinia.
Saracens under Kasim subjugate Sindh.
Saracen armies invade Asia Minor, which they overrun in the next four years.
712 Koteiba takes Samarkand.
713 Fall of Philippicus. Anastasius II emperor.
China: Accession of Lung Chi, to 763. Forty years of prosperity.
715 Walid dies; Suleiman khalif.
Fall of Anastasius; Theodosius III emperor.
Gregory II pope to 731.
716 Neustrians attack Austrasians, who find a leader in Charles Martel, son of Pepin. Four years of civil war.
Suleiman prepares grand attack on the Empire.
Revolt of Leo the Isaurian.
717 Theodosius abdicates in favor of Leo III.
Moslemah, brother of Suleiman, besieges Constantinople by sea and land. Leo defeats fleet.
718 Saracens reinforced. Leo shatters their fleet, crosses Bosporus and cuts communications. Bulgarians advance and defeat a Saracen army. Moslemah withdraws his remnants over the Dardanelles and cuts his way to Cilicia. Remnant of grand fleet destroyed in a storm.
East Europe delivered from the Saracen menace.
719 Charles Martel, after victories of Vincy and Soissons, mayor of east and west to 741.
Ascendancy of Austrasia.
720-730 Charles restores authority in Trans-Rhenish dominions, lost during the civil wars.
721 Saracens invade Aquitaine but are routed by Duke Eudo at Toulouse.
723 Boniface "apostle of Germany" made bishop for Germany by Gregory II, under protection of Charles Martel.
725 Saracens overrun Septimania.
726 Leo III ("Iconoclast") prohibits image worship; violent breach with Pope Gregory.
727 Saracen defeat at Nicæa.
Charles Martel subjugates Bavaria.
729 Exarch Eutychius marches on Rome.
730 Liutprand imposes pacification of Italy, which leaves Gregory independent.
Revolt of Swabia stamped out by Charles Martel.
731 Othman in Septimania revolts against Abd er-Rahman in Spain, Eudo against Charles. Othman is crushed; Eudo submits.
732 Gregory III pope. Leo's fleet for subjugation of Italy destroyed by storms.
Abd er-Rahman invades and conquers Aquitaine, routing Eudo; but he is killed and his forces are shattered by Charles Martel at the decisive battle of Poitiers, also known as Tours.

ISLAM'S GREAT CENTURY OF CONQUEST: 632—732

THE dominating feature of the hundred years whose story is recorded in this chapter is the sudden and unprecedented expansion in the East of a newly organized and semi-barbaric but militant religious community into a conquering world power. In Europe, on the other hand, we have to watch the continuation of the process that was dominant in our last chapter, the disintegration of the old order and the emerging of the bases of a new order.

Among the followers of the Prophet there was none whom he trusted more completely or more deservedly than Abu Bekr and Omar. He had not, however, definitely nominated any successor. He left no heir of his body; but, if the headship of the Faithful was to go by heredity, Ali, his daughter Fatima's husband, was the obvious and, in fact, the only claimant. Practically the decision lay with the chiefs who were present at Medina when the Prophet died; they ignored the theory of heredity and chose the man whose record and character carried the most weight, Abu Bekr (the father of Mahomet's youngest and favorite wife, Ayesha).

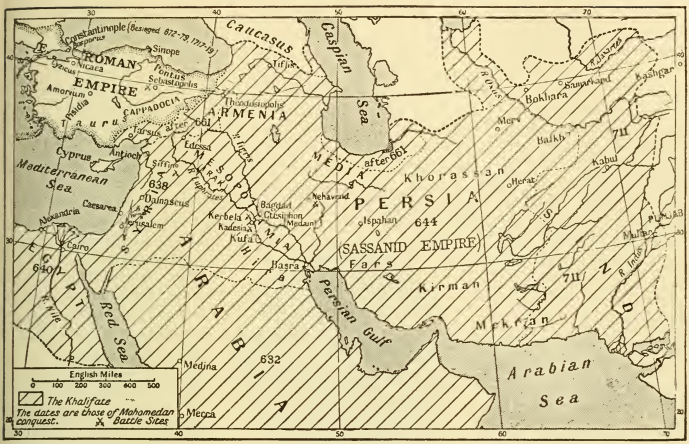
Abu Bekr Secures the Khalifate

HE proceeded to the immediate execution of Mahomet's project of conquest. One army was dispatched to Syria, another to the lower Euphrates—Mesopotamia or Irak—where the population was largely Arabic and had no love for its Persian rulers.

In three battles, the commander of the latter, Khalid shattered the Persian armies. Khalid then proceeded to re-

ISLAM'S CONQUESTS IN EUROPE IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY

From Egypt the Saracens spread in a westward direction over the whole of the North African littoral, securing control of the Mediterranean. In 711 a Saracen host crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and, after a stubbornly contested battle on the Guadalete, overran the whole of the Iberian Peninsula. Their further advance over Europe was finally stayed in Aquitaine in 732 by Charles Martel, "mayor of the palace" to the Frankish king, who drove them back across the Pyrenees.



ISLAM'S CONQUESTS IN ASIA IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY

How rapidly and over how large an area Mahomet's dream of world-conquest was carried into effect in the century following his death is shown graphically in these two maps. Restricted to Arabia in 632, Islam absorbed first Syria and then Egypt and, later, Armenia to the Caucasus. By their victory at Nehavend in 642 the Saracens won the whole of Persia, and thereafter extended their dominion eastward and north-eastward to the Indus and the Jaxartes.

duce the Hira province on the west of the Euphrates, and was then transferred to Syria.

Syria Abandoned to the Saracens

THERE, Heraclius once more took the field in person, but he had become hopelessly enfeebled by disease; the supreme and magnificent effort of the Persian war had been followed by reaction, besides leaving the Empire desperately crippled; and in 636 the emperor abandoned Syria, emphasizing the completeness of the defeat by carrying with him to Constantinople the True Cross, which, after his triumph over the Persians, had been once more enshrined at Jerusalem. Antioch and Jerusalem itself fell in 637, and the capture of the great port of Cæsarea in 640 completed the conquest of Syria.

Equally decisive were the operations against Persia where Khalid had left his work so uncompleted that the country was nearly lost to him.

It was Zaid, a new commander, who directed the campaign of 635, in which was fought the decisive three-days' action of Kadesia, an overwhelming victory, though almost until the close of the third day the issue was extremely doubtful. The Persian field army was shattered, and the way was open for the conquest of Mesopotamia. In the summer of 636 Zaid was able to advance on Medain (Ctesiphon), the Persian capital, lying on both sides of the Tigris. Early in 637 Ctesiphon fell, and the Persian king and empire were driven behind the mountain barrier on the east of the great river.

The Taurus on one side and the Perso-Median mountains on the other would be the natural bounds between the Saracen Empire and the empires of Persia and Rome.

By 640 those bounds had been attained; the Saracen dominion covered all that had ever owned the sway of Babylon or Assyria, save Egypt. But circumstances were too strong for Omar, the new khalif. Egypt was a bait too valuable to be resisted, and Persian rather than Arab aggression forced his hand in the east. Both Egypt and Persia had been annexed before his death in 644.

The conquest of Egypt in fact presented no very serious difficulty.

In 640, when Cæsarea had fallen, and Syria, under its governor, the Ommiad Moawiya (Muavia), no longer offered promise of distinction, one of the commanders, Amru, obtained a somewhat reluctant permission from Omar to invade Egypt. A force of sixteen thousand men proved sufficient to effect the conquest, finishing with the capitulation of Alexandria, in 641, with little serious fighting, the dying Heraclius making no effort for its relief.

So when the news came in 641 that the Persian king, Yezdigird, was mustering from every province of his empire a vast army of invasion, Omar took up the challenge. In 642 at the battle of Nehavend thirty thousand Mahomedans shattered and scattered a Persian army of five times their numbers. Even then Yezdigird the Unlucky refused to come to terms, and, though driven perpetually from pillar to post, maintained the hopeless struggle for nearly ten years, until his death in 651. But Nehavend had decided the issue. Persia had been won for Islam. Yezdigird was the last of her Sassanid kings.

CONQUEROR OF CHOSROES

East Roman emperor from 610 to 641, Heraclius' reign, troubled by war and theological dissension, ended with the Empire menaced by the rising flood of Islam.

British Museum

The great Omar fell in 644 beneath the dagger of an assassin who then slew himself—the victim of a purely personal vindictiveness. The policy of expansion to which he committed himself only in his last years was continued under his successors in the Khalifate. While Othman ruled at Medina (644-656), the conquest and incorporation of Persia were carried to the Oxus. Amru, the conqueror of Egypt, annexed the Cyrenaica, or Barca and Tripolis, pushing along the Mediterranean littoral. The regency at Constantinople (the emperor at the time being a young boy) put forth a great effort soon after Omar's death, and recaptured Alexandria, which Amru was only able to recover after a year's siege (646). Six years later the attempt was repeated; but this time it was defeated by the Saracen fleet which had been created in the interval by Amru's successor, Abu Sarh.

In 649 it effected the capture of Cyprus, Abu Sarh being one of the commanders; again under his command it won the victory which drove the imperial fleet from Alexandria in 652; and in 655 it crowned its successes by inflicting a decisive defeat on the Byzantine fleet off Phœnix on the Lycian coast.

The revival of Byzantine activity under the regency was not confined to the effort at Alexandria. In 646 a Byzantine force invaded Syria from Asia Minor. Omar's embargo on aggressive movement beyond the borders was no longer operative, and Moawiya, the governor of Syria, not only repelled the attack but carried the war into the enemy's country. Troops from Syria raided farther and farther into Asia Minor in successive years, pushing nearer and nearer to the western limit of Asia, while the security of Europe itself was threatened by the passing of the command of the eastern Mediterranean into the hands of the Saracen fleet.

Thus much had been or was being achieved on the western side when, in 656, the murder of Othman and the acceptance of the Khalifate by Ali brought to a head the family jealousies and tribal rivalries which threatened Islam with disruption, and immediately developed into a war of contending factions. Moawiya, who was to be one of the leading figures in the fight, made haste to arrange a truce with the Eastern emperor, to whom a respite from the Saracen war was more than welcome.

Dissension in the Ranks of Islam

ELECTION to the Khalifate lay with a committee, which appointed the least competent of their number, the septuagenarian Othman, who was Mahomet's son-in-law.

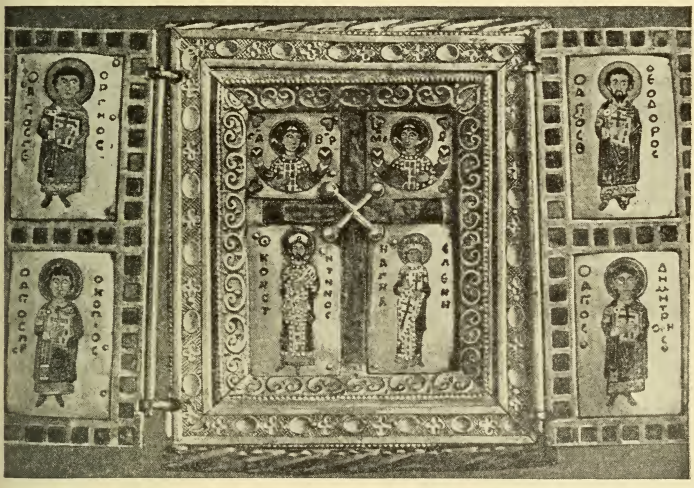
Othman was of the Ommiad family, to which also belonged Moawiya, the governor of Syria; a house whose favor was

deeply resented by many, since it had for many years headed the Meccan hostility to Mahomet, though itself of the Koreish tribe to which the Prophet himself belonged. Disaffection, then, spread among the old Companions of the Prophet on the one hand and on the other among the Beduin chiefs who always resented the priority of the Koreish.

War Between Ali and Moawiya

THE head and front of Othman's offending was the unpopularity and arrogance of his governors at Kufa, at Basra and in Egypt; but additional ground for complaint was found in his issuing a revision of the Koran, and additional encouragement to disaffection in his obvious weakness in dealing with the disloyal elements. The most prominent of the Companions at Medina, Ali, Zobeir and Talha, offered no effective resistance to a long-prepared insurrection at Medina, in which the aged khalif was cruelly done to death; and the insurgents, before they left the city, compelled Ali to assume the Khalifate. The immediate result was civil war.

The insurrection had been jointly organized from Kufa, Basra and Egypt, but each had chosen a different candidate. Ali was the choice of the Egyptian group who carried the affair through. Zobeir and Talha, old Companions both, gave their allegiance to Ali; but were soon in open rebellion urged on by Ayesha, Mahomet's widow, who detested Ali. The pretext was Ali's failure to punish Othman's murderers, which Moawiya in Syria too made a ground for refusing allegiance. Apart from Syria there were four factions, Basra, Kufa, the regicides who had actually made Ali khalif, and those who adhered to Ali as loyalists. Kufa came over to Ali, but none of the parties could really be reconciled with the regicides,



PIECE OF THE TRUE CROSS RECOVERED BY HERACLIUS FROM THE PERSIANS

After the defeat, deposition and assassination of Chosroes in 628, Heraclius signed a treaty of peace with the Persian Siroes, including in its terms the restitution of the true wood of the Holy Cross. In the following year Heraclius made a personal pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and the relic was restored to the Holy Sepulcher. A fragment of the true cross, brought probably from Constantinople about 1155, is enshrined in this enameled gold triptych now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

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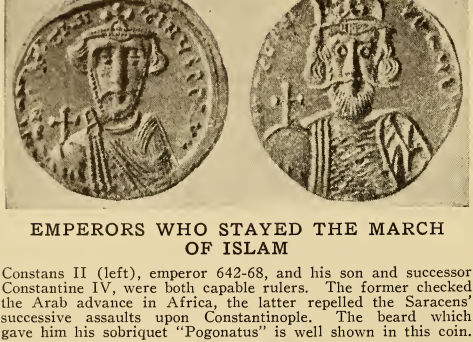


EMPERORS WHO STAYED THE MARCH OF ISLAM

Constans II (left), emperor 642-68, and his son and successor Constantine IV, were both capable rulers. The former checked the Arab advance in Africa, the latter repelled the Saracens' successive assaults upon Constantinople. The beard which gave him his sobriquet "Pogonatus" is well shown in this coin.

British Museum

who broke up attempted negotiations lest they should find all the rest making common cause against them. Near Basra they forced a fierce engagement. The khalif was victorious; both Talha and Zobeir were killed; but it was the victory not of order represented by the khalif himself but of his allies, the regicides and the ever-turbulent Kufa.

Moawiya then was the one positive rival. He was strong in having at his side Amru, the conqueror of Egypt. Ali, the least vindictive of men, desired not war but peace, but he could not simply acquiesce in Moawiya's defiance.

He marched against Moawiya. Then both sides agreed to refer the question to the authority of the Koran, with Amru and Musa, the governor of Kufa, as judges. Amru overreached Musa, so that the judgment which should have deposed both Ali and Moawiya actually deposed only the former, six months after the suspension of hostilities—and the conflict remained in suspense. Moawiya had a colorable pretext for claiming that he was khalif, but it was not his policy to attack his rival directly; while Ali not only viewed civil war with reluctance, but was also hampered by the development among his former followers of a fanatically puritan sect called the Kharejites, who wished to abolish the Khalifate and set up an impossible theocracy.

Their number was small, but though they were temporarily crushed at Nehrwan they were not extirpated. The result was that three of the zealots resolved to assassinate both the khalifs (who had come to an agreement) and Amru, lest the last should succeed to the Khalifate. Amru escaped altogether; Moawiya survived the attack and recovered; but Ali's wound was mortal (660). His elder son Hasan, a feeble creature, succeeded him, but very soon abdicated in favor of Moawiya, who thus became sole khalif and founder of the Ommiad dynasty (661).

Formal unity having been restored, Moawiya reigned unchallenged till his death in 680 having first procured the nomination of his son Yezid as his successor.

LAST OF THE HERACLIAN DYNASTY

Justinian II was born in 669 and came to the throne in 685. A brilliant but tempestuous and vindictive man, he was deposed and banished to the Crimea in 695, but recovered his throne in 705 and thereafter indulged in an orgy of cruelty, ended by his own murder in 711.

British Museum

It has been noted that at the beginning of the troubles Moawiya arranged a truce with the Empire. The pacification set him free to renew the policy of expansion. This was at first directed to the African littoral. In 663 the Saracen advance captured Carthage but was driven back again to Tripolis. But Moawiya's forces were soon operating in Asia Minor, the emperor Constans II being fully occupied in the west till he was assassi-

nated in 668. The new emperor Constantine IV Pogonatus was only eighteen, and for some time Moawiya's arms met with success. In 673 he was in possession of the Asiatic shore of the Sea of Marmora and laid siege to Constantinople itself. Then the tide turned. The Byzantine fleet, armed with a new weapon known as Greek fire, recovered mastery of the sea and drove off the Saracens. In 678 Moawiya had to sue for peace, and the hostilities were again suspended for several years, while the accession of Yezid (680-683) inaugurated a fresh period of civil discord which continued for five and twenty years.

Troublous Reign of Yezid I

YEZID'S reign began with tragedy. There was no precedent for the manner of his appointment. A strong backing was to be expected for the claims of Husain, the second of Ali's sons and Mahomet's grandsons, and also for Abdallah the son of Zobeir. Both were at Mecca. Unhappily, Husain was induced by the expectation of support from Kufa to march thither with his family and a very small group of adherents. The Beduins who joined him on the way deserted as soon as they learned that no help was forthcoming from Kufa, which was in the iron grip of its governor, Obeidullah. An overwhelming force was sent out to arrest Husain. To fight was madness, but a madness which he preferred to the unconditional surrender demanded of him. He and his little band sold their lives dearly; but they were all cut to pieces, among them two of his sons, two sons of Hasan, and six brothers. The women were treated with honor, and the youngest son was spared. But seventy heads were carried in to Obeidullah.

The slaughter was quite unnecessary. Yezid denounced Obeidullah and repudiated his action. But the thing was done. The seed of the Prophet had been all but extirpated at Kerbela on the tenth day of the month Moharram, and the Ommiad khalif was responsible for the deed his minister had perpetrated. A shudder ran through the whole Mahomedan world, and of Husain's martyrdom a creed was born, the creed of the divine right of the seed of the Prophet to the Khalifate; the creed which was to split Islam in twain between the Shiah party who adhered to it and the Sunnis who rejected it.

Medina and Mecca, the nursery and the sanctuary of Islam, refused to recognize Yezid; Mecca proclaimed Abdallah. In 683 Yezid's army stormed and sacked Medina ruthlessly, and Mecca was on the verge of suffering the same fate when Yezid died. The Syrian army retired when Abdallah rejected the overtures of its chief, whose share in the sack of Medina the men of the old school would not forgive. Kufa acknowledged Abdallah, while Syria sought out a new Ommiad, Merwan. Broadly speaking, the main cleavage was between Syria and Irak; but of the two Irakian centers Basra was rent by the remnant of the Kharejite zealots and Kufa by the new Shiah sect, which would acknowledge no khalif save one of the seed of the Prophet. At the same time, what was left of the old believers betook themselves to Africa, where the advance had again become active since the death of Constantine Pogonatus in 685.

The Ommiad Dynasty Restored

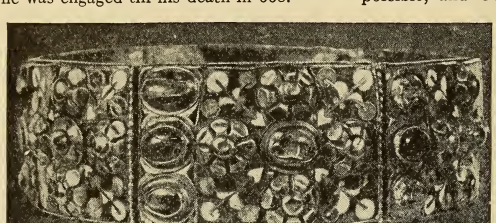
ABDALLAH IBN ZOBEIR maintained himself at Mecca till 691. In Syria Merwan was murdered in 685, but he had already secured the succession of his son Abd el-Malik (685-705), who turned on Irak, and in a very short time crushed or won over the supporters of Abdallah. Then his famous general Hajjaj in 691 renewed the attack on Abdallah at Mecca which had been broken off by the death of Yezid eight years before. Mecca was again besieged, but was saved from impending destruction when Abdallah, in a desperate sally, was slain (692) at the head of his small band. With the fall of Abdallah, resistance completely and finally ended.

Once more there was a single Ommiad khalif, Abd el-Malik, the inventor of the capitation tax upon Christians throughout the Khalifate. Marked progress was made in the African advance. Carthage was finally taken in 698, and as the Arabs slowly gained the mastery over the Berbers, Numidians and Moors, these tribesmen became foremost in their Mahomedan zeal. When Abd el-Malik died in 705, Islam was already casting greedy glances towards the shore of Spain. But

before carrying further the story of Islam, we must again take up the tale of the West.

Fortunes of the Heraclian House

HERACLIUS died in 641. Next year his boy grandson Constans II became sole emperor. During his minority the government was conducted by the Senate. The truce between Moawiya and Constans, brought about by the death of Othman, enabled the emperor to devote himself to the affairs of Italy, on which he was engaged till his death in 668.



THE IRON CROWN OF LOMBARDY

Made for Agilulf, king of the Lombards, in 591, this iron crown was used in the coronation of all Lombard kings and all Holy Roman Emperors who were also kings of Lombardy. The interior is said to be hammered from a nail of the true cross. The jeweled exterior was added about 1100.

Photo, Alinari

Constans apparently had the design of restoring the imperial supremacy in Italy, now dominated by the Lombard kingdom in the north and the Lombard dukes in the south.

In the campaign of 663 Constans overran South Italy and visited Rome; but then, without attacking the northern kingdom, he retired unmolested through the south and took up his headquarters at Syracuse.

In 668 Constans was murdered at Syracuse by a slave who was probably the instrument of a conspiracy. He was succeeded by his son Constantine IV (668-685), known as Pogonatus, "the bearded." After suppressing a usurper at Syracuse who had tried to make his own profit out of the murder of Constans, the young emperor plunged into the war which Moawiya, now sole and undisputed khalif, had recently renewed in Asia Minor. His armies were at first so far unsuccessful that in 673 the Saracens opened the siege of Constantinople. At that point, however, the tide turned. The Saracens were forced to retire to Cyzicus on the Asiatic shore of the Sea of Marmora, their fleets were constantly beaten off, and in 678 Constantine imposed a peace which established his high reputation.

At about the same time, however, Bulgaria came into being as a kingdom. The Slavs had long been in occupation of Mœsia. To expel them had proved impossible, and Constans had made terms with them which practically left them independent. The Bulgars had then crossed the Danube in force, dominated the Slavs, and were now rapidly amalgamating with them. Constantine recognized the Bulgarian kingdom in 679.

In the next year a general council of the churches, Eastern and Western, was held at Constantinople, which resulted in the final banning of the Monothelite heresy.

AFTER the death of Constantine the Bearded in 685, the Empire fell on evil days. The young emperor, Justinian II, who was deposed in 695, restored in 705 and killed in a military insurrection in 711, was not unlike the English King John; for he had brilliant abilities which he exercised spasmodically, but was too completely the slave of his own passions, vindictiveness in particular, to be able to preserve what he won.

With his death ended the house of Heraclius.

IN Italy Grimoald of Benevento had usurped the Lombard crown in 662, expelling the young heir, Berthari. His rule was vigorous; he checked the threatened attack of Constans in the north; he repelled invasions of the Avars and Franks; he maintained friendly relations

with the Papacy. On his death in 672 the Lombards recalled Berthari, a mild and religious prince, who reigned peaceably and benevolently till his death. His son Cunibert (688-700) had much trouble with rebellious dukes. When he died the crown was snatched from his young son by his cousin Aribert of Turin (701-711), who in his turn was overthrown by the adherents of the old royal family, so that in 711 the Lombard crown fell to Liutprand (712-743), probably the ablest of all the Lombard kings.

In the Frankish kingdom the power had in the meantime passed for ever from the royal house of the Merwings; though a succession of phantoms continued to occupy the throne, crowned usually when children, and surviving only long enough to beget a boy or two to keep up the phantom line of the "rois fainéants," the "do-nothing kings." Sigibert, the first of the fainéants, succeeded Dagobert, the last effective Merwing, in 638. Next year died Pepin the Old, whose son Grimoald claimed to succeed him as mayor of the palace, and made good his claim by force of arms. But when, on Sigibert's death in 656, he tried to set his own son on the Austrasian throne, the Franks would not displace the old dynasty and set up another Merwing puppet, Theuderic. Then in 678 after seven years of constant strife, Pepin the Younger, nephew of Grimoald and grandson both of Pepin the Old and Arnulf of Metz, established himself as mayor of the palace for both Austrasia and Neustria, while he still left Theuderic III titular king of all the Franks. The king did not count.

On Pepin's death the succession to the mayoralty was secured after a four years' struggle by his (illegitimate) son Charles Martel (the Hammer), who reigned from 719 to 741, and thoroughly established the Arnulfing dynasty, though it was only in the reign of his son that it assumed the regal title and the name Carolingian.

LEO THE ISAURIAN

Leo III (717-741), founder of the Isaurian Dynasty, saved Constantinople from the Saracens in 717, routed them at Nicæa in 727 and finally removed the menace by his victory at Acroinon in 740.

British Museum

Meanwhile the Visigothic kingdom was making the way easy for the power which was preparing to supersede it. Two only of the many kings who reigned between 631 and 711 were men of capacity and vigor: Chindaswinth (641-652), and Wamba (672-680), who was again forced to smite the rebellious nobles with a heavy hand in the first year of his reign, but was thereafter able to rule in peace. With these two exceptions every one of the kings, both before and after them, was more occupied with conciliating the clergy than with the governance of the land. The last of the series was Roderic, elected in 710, who lost his life in the cataclysm of 711.

GREAT was the glory of Islam in the days of the khalif Walid (705-715), the successor of Abd el-Malik, and evil were those days in the history of the Christian Empire. The Herculian dynasty perished in 711; and in that same year the Saracens destroyed the Visigothic kingdom and laid the foundation of the Moorish dominion in Spain, not to be eliminated till all but eight centuries had gone by. Also in that year their fleets descended on Sardinia and tore from the Empire the most westerly province which still acknowledged its sovereignty.

In 715, the year in which Walid died, Theodosius III was made emperor. Collapse seemed imminent, but at that critical moment the Khalifate passed into feebler hands, and two years later Theodosius anticipated his own deposition by a judicious abdication in favor of the man who would otherwise have forcibly ejected him, Leo III the Isaurian.

Walid had succeeded at what might fairly be reckoned a fortunate moment. There were no dangerous pretenders to the Khalifate. He had in his service the mighty and merciless Hajjaj, who had crushed by degrees the perpetual sporadic resistance in Irak and Persia to the rule of Abd el-Malik. In Abd el-Malik's

latter years the Byzantines had been finally ejected from Africa, and the khalif's lieutenant, Musa, had carried the Saracen dominion to the Pillars of Hercules. The time was ripe for advance.

Walid, or Walid's officers, did advance, and without delay. In Transoxiana Koteiba waged successful war, subjugating or enrolling the Turkish nomads; in 709 he captured Bokhara after a hard siege; in 712 Samarkand fell to his arms. He was on the way to Kashgar when the campaign was suspended in 715 by the death of Walid and the accession of his son Suleiman (715-717).

During the reign of Abd el-Malik, Kabul had been made tributary. In 711 Hajjaj at Basra found occasion to quarrel with Dahir, the Rajput raja of Sindh and the southern Punjab, thus for the first time bringing India into direct contact with the Mahomedan power. Hajjaj sent his son Kasim to deal with the Indian prince; and though a stubborn resistance was offered by Multan and other towns, Sindh was subjugated, and remained under Arab sway till the fall of the Ommiad dynasty.

The greatest triumph, however, of the Mahommedan arms was in the West. In 711, which Islam might well have reckoned as its "year of victories," the bolt fell upon Spain. Musa, now master of the whole north African littoral, dispatched a great force across the Strait of Gibraltar (Jebel Tarik), named after Tarik, the leader of the expedition. The Saracen host landed unopposed; Roderic gathered all the troops that he could muster, and on the banks of the Guadalete fought a seven days' battle with the invaders. His army was virtually annihilated. Roderic was never seen again, and a mere remnant escaped to the hills. The Saracens swept irresistibly over the peninsula, subduing the whole of it before two years were passed; only in the fastnesses of the far northwest a stubborn few, who doubtless seemed not to be worth the trouble of subduing, still upheld a precarious freedom.

While Tarik was obliterating the Visigoths in Spain, the Saracen fleet was annexing the island of Sardinia, as another naval base for the lordship of the Mediterranean. In this same year Walid's armies renewed the long-suspended attack on Asia Minor, raided through the Taurus, and wrought havoc in Cappadocia. Before Walid was dead they had mastered Pisidia and Pontus; but it was left to Walid's successor, Suleiman, to concentrate on the second great attack on Constantinople, where the third revolution in the course of four years, the sixth in eighteen, had just brought about the crowning of the unwilling Theodosius III.

Suleiman's Disastrous Reign

THE glories of Walid had been due not to his own genius or vigor, but to his wisdom in choosing officers whom he trusted, who knew that he trusted them, and who repaid his trust. Suleiman, like Philip II of Spain, trusted no man, dreaded everyone who had shown distinguished capacity, and, whenever he could, killed everyone whom he dreaded. As a natural consequence, his two years' reign was disastrous. From the time of his accession the Ommiad dynasty hastened to its inglorious end.

Hajjaj, happily for himself, was already dead. Musa was promptly disgraced. Koteiba, the conqueror of Transoxiana, sought to prevent the evil day by revolting, but his troops remained loyal, and he was slain; the eastern advance, however, was stayed.

At the moment everything seemed auspicious for the great blow at the Empire. A mighty armament was made ready by sea and land under the command of the khalif's brother Moslemah for the siege of Constantinople. At Amorium, in the heart of Asia Minor, the Empire had a stout defender in its commander Leo the Isaurian, who held the Saracens at bay; but Leo chose to make a truce with the foreign foe, and to march on the capital proclaiming himself emperor in the place of Theodosius who promptly handed over the diadem to which he preferred for himself the cowl of a monk. The hosts of Arab and Persian warriors poured for the first time across the Hellespont, but the walls of the city were impregnable. Their fleets swarmed up to the Bosporus, but the fleet which issued from the port of Byzantium spread panic among them by sending down fireships, and completed their defeat by the new and terrible artillery of the Greek fire, an explosive of which the composition was a rigorously guarded state secret. Its first use would

seem to have been by Constantine the Bearded. The Saracen fleet fell back, and with the Black Sea open to them the Byzantines were in no lack of supplies.

Suleiman died. In the spring the new khalif, Omir II (717-719), sent great reinforcements by land and sea. Again the fleet sailed up the Bosporus; and this time practically the whole of it was sunk or taken and carried to the harbor of Byzantium, partly by a repetition of the previous tactics, partly because many of the crews deserted to the other side. Leo followed up the naval victory by landing a force on the Asiatic shore which dispersed the Saracen force there, and cut the communications between Asia and the European force under Moslemah, who had the utmost difficulty in keeping his army from starvation. Then came the news that the Bulgar king was mobilizing a great force against the Saracens. Moslemah raised the siege, and cut his way back through Asia Minor to Syria with what was left of the Grand Army. What was left of the Grand Fleet was shattered in a storm off the Lycian cost (718). Leo had decisively saved the Eastern Empire from the Arab menace. As a result of his effects centuries were to pass before Asia Minor was again invaded in force by the armies of the Saracenic rulers.

Omar, a most virtuous and pious prince, was succeeded by Yezid II (720-724). Revolt was again raised in Irak, and in Africa, which was on its way to separation. Yezid was followed by Hisham

GREAT MOSQUE AT DAMASCUS BUILT BY THE EARLY OMMIADS

Damascus became the seat of the Khalifate on the establishment of the Ommiad dynasty in 661, but it was not until the reign of Walid (705-715), a great patron of architecture, that the Moslems erected a mosque there. The Great Mosque was then built in its present form. It comprises a vast open court, measuring 430 feet by 125 feet, surrounded by stone arcades, that on the south side opening into the mosque proper, the dome-crowned inner sanctuary.

From Briggs, "Muhammadan Architecture": Oxford University Press

(724-743), who was mainly occupied in accumulating wealth and maintaining a balance between the Irakian and Syrian factions, while the Abbasids, a second branch of the Hashimites, the kinsmen of Mahomet, were unostentatiously propagating their own claim to be the true representatives of the Prophet, which propaganda was to bear fruit.

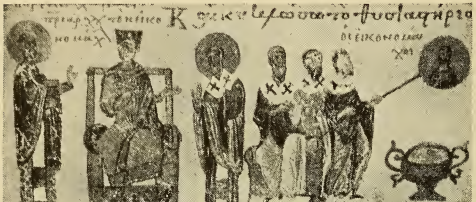
The Iconoclastic Controversy

THE reign of Leo III (717-740) opened with the triumphant conflict with the Khalifate, the issue of which was confirmed in 727, when a victory over the Saracens at Nicæa finally drove them beyond the Taurus, though it did not completely terminate their incursions. But his rule is only less important in another field; for he is perhaps more familiarly recognized at Leo the Iconoclast than as Leo the Isaurian, the name under which we think of him as the savior of Europe.

The age was one in which the power of working miracles was commonly believed to reside not only in saints departed or still in the flesh, but also in relics and in carven or painted representations of Christ, of His Mother, and of the saints.

Iconoclasm was the revolt against such doctrine and its expression in the worship of such images, a worship almost universally encouraged by the clergy, but denounced by the iconoclasts (that is, image breakers) as idolatry. Judaism, and Mahomedanism basing itself on the Hebrew tradition, condemned the "graven image" altogether, precisely because its existence was an encouragement to the worship of that which, so long as it was regarded as a symbol and nothing more, was harmless; Mahomedanism took credit to itself for the destruction of idols and pointed the finger of scorn at the Christian idolaters.

Leo, then, resolved to do away with this reproach to Christendom, and in 726 he issued a rescript forbidding the worship of images, and ordering the removal or painting out of sacred statues and pictures. The Cross as a symbol he retained; the Crucifix bearing the image of the Savior he banned. A mass of intelligent lay opinion was with him; the clergy, headed by Pope Gregory II at Rome, were solidly against him, and with them were the uninstructed masses to whom the images had become fetishes.



ICONOCLASTS DEFACING A GRAVEN IMAGE

This illustration from a Byzantine eleventh century psalter depicts a company of image breakers defacing an icon. The iconoclastic controversy was brought to a head by the edict of Leo III in 726, forbidding the worship of images and relics, and rent the Church for a hundred years.

British Museum, Add. MSS. 19352

In Italy it was impossible to enforce the edict, while Gregory denounced the sacrilegious emperor in person with surprising freedom of abuse. Elsewhere the execution of the rescript was attended by furious riots. The antagonism between the papal and the imperial authority reached an unprecedented bitterness, so that Leo prepared once more to appeal to the sword in 732; but the elements fought against him and wrecked his fleet before it could reach Italy. So ended, almost before it began, the last attempt of Byzantium to make good its theoretical sovereignty in the West. But in the East the battle between iconoclasts and iconodules was only inaugurated.

Drastic Interference by Lombardy

THE collision between Gregory and Leo had given the Lombard king Liutprand occasion for aggressive action. The imperial Ravenna exarchate was a wedge between the northern kingdom and the southern duchies. He attacked the exarchate, and before the end of 727 the

hole of it was in his ınds, with very little ghting. The exarch utychius, however, es- ıped to Venice, now sing to prominence in ıe security of her la- oons, and in 729 recov- red Ravenna by a sur- rise attack in Liut- rand's absence. He then ıarched on Rome to ıring Gregory to reason. Liutprand, who had been ngaged (successfully) in imilarly bringing the outhern dukes to reason, vas able to impose a ıacification on all the ıarties, which left the exarch in possession only of Ravenna, and Gregory virtually independent. It was this that caused Leo, two years later, when Gregory III—an equally resolute opponent—had succeeded Gregory II in the Papacy, to prepare the great but futile expedition of 732.

Meanwhile, Charles the Hammer, firmly established since 720 as mayor of the palace both in Austrasia and Neustria, with Theuderic IV as puppet-king of the whole realm, had been making good the losses that had befallen in the years of anarchy which followed the death of Pepin. Aquitaine, which under its duke Eudo had made itself in effect independent, was left for the time to its own devices; Charles, as an Austrasian, was more immediately interested in the subjugation of the outlying German provinces on the east. In the course of ten years the Saxons beyond the border had felt the weight of his hand and the reach of his arm; the Frisian duke was coöperating in the Christianization of his subjects; Bavaria was again brought to submission as a vassal state by a series of hard-fought campaigns; and Charles extended his powerful protection to the English missionary Winfrith or Boniface, whose work among the remoter pagans won him the name of "the Apostle of Germany."

TOMB OF THE VENERABLE BEDE

Bede, born c. 673, died at Jarrow, May 26, 735, and was buried in the Benedictine monastery church there. In 1022 his bones were removed to Durham Cathedral and, in 1155, placed in a sumptuous shrine. This was destroyed under Henry VIII, and Bede's bones now rest in this tomb in the Galilee chapel.

Photo, John R. Edis

Contemporary Events in England

ENGLAND during these hundred years of change elsewhere was developing in isolation, save for her contact with the

Scots kingdom on the north, but without any tendency to unification other than that of the ascendancy of one or another kingdom or principality over its neighbors.

The whole island was Christianized, the Celtic portions holding, like the Irish, to the Celtic church, while Northumbria decided (at the Synod of Whitby in 664), like the rest of the English, in favor of the Latin or Roman branch.

Saracen Irruption into Aquitaine

WE have seen that, before the death of Pepin the Younger of Heristhal, the Saracens—the term applied throughout the Middle Ages to Mahomedans, of whatever race, when in contact or conflict with Europeans—were already masters of Spain and the Visigothic province of Septimania or what was later known as Languedoc. There, however, and in Africa they were torn by the same dissensions and disaffections as in the East.

Nevertheless, in 720 they broke over the Pyrenees into Aquitaine and laid siege to Toulouse. They were driven out again by Duke Eudo, who, having professed formal allegiance to the king of the Franks, received aid from the neighboring Frankish governors; but they still kept their hold on Narbonne, in Septimania and in 732 the governor of Spain Abd er-Rahman swept into Aquitaine with a vast army and drove Eudo in complete route over the Loire. The fugitive duke betook himself straightway to Charles to implore his aid.

Fourteen years before, Leo had saved eastern Europe. If in that critical year Moslemah had captured Constantinople, the Saracens would undoubtedly have overrun the Balkan peninsula, and the Eastern Empire, which was still to be the bulwark of Christendom for more than seven centuries, would have gone down. Abd er-Rahman's advance from Spain was probably in fact much less momentous. The conquest of the West would not necessarily have resulted from even the most overwhelming victories, for there could be no sort of comparison between the Frank power of resistance and recuperation and that of the Visigoths. But a Saracen victory would have brought a Saracen conquest within the range of practical possibilities, and the victory of Charles did at a blow save the West from a prolonged and exhausting struggle with a very uncertain issue.

Charles the Hammer's Final Blow

CHARLES, a master of swift movement, rapidly drew in a great force from every quarter, with which Abd er-Rahman suddenly found himself faced in the neighborhood of Poitiers—though Tours has given the battle the name by which it is most commonly known. For six days the armies lay opposite each other, maneuvering and skirmishing. On the morning of the seventh day Abd er-Rahman attacked. Through the day a furious battle raged; vast numbers, including the Saracen chief himself, were slain. The Franks believed that the battle would be renewed the next day, but when the morning broke the enemy were in full flight for the south and their camp was deserted. Charles at Poitiers had repeated, no less decisively, the work of Leo at Byzantium. In Europe it was only in the Spanish peninsula that Islam had made good its footing. Never again did it penetrate beyond the Pyrenees mountains. By rolling back the Moslem invaders the Franks championed the church and changed the history of the world.

MAHOMET AND HIS TEACHING

LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE PROPHET OF ISLAM AND THE RELIGIOUS SYSTEM WHICH HE INSTITUTED

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THE portrayal of Mahomet's personality and aims is rendered difficult by our ignorance of the environment in which he worked. Mecca, where the first fifty years of his life were spent, is unknown to pre-Islamic history, and, although it became the centre of Islam (an Arabic word, originally meaning "submission," used to designate the Mahomedan faith), allusions to it in the Koran are scanty.

Seemingly, the community wherein Mahomet was born was a group of tribes living in primitive conditions with which the bulk of the people seem to have been reasonably satisfied. So far as we can ascertain, Mahomet did not place himself at the head of a party which already existed, but slowly, patiently and skilfully created a party himself. That party presently developed into a military force, comparable with Cromwell's Ironsides and Napoleon's Old Guard; and since Mahomet started his career of conquest as soon as he became head of a state, we should guess that in forming his earliest group of adherents he looked out for persons on whose strong arm he could rely.

Evidence of such qualifications is likely to have been found in some actual performance in some intertribal conflict, but the careers of the Islamic soldiers begin when they adopt Islam; whatever distinctions they may have won in intertribal wars or in resisting the Prophet himself were best consigned to oblivion.

Hence, in endeavoring to explain the rise of Islam we are thrown back on one man, who, if he had not left us a diary, still bequeathed in the Koran a record of his sentiments and experiences, covering a considerable portion of his career. That record is, indeed, devoid of chronological arrangement; much of it may have been imperfectly remembered by those who transmitted it; some of the matter is likely to be later interpolation, some of it conceivably contemporary with the Prophet, yet wrongly assigned to him. In the main, however, its genuineness is assured, and it faithfully reflects the Prophet's mind. The personal element is found throughout; some of it deals in detail with his domestic affairs, not a little with troubles incident to his mission. At times it reproduces his experiences as those undergone by some historical or mythical prophet. In such cases the value of the Koran as autobiography is greater than its worth as history.

The study of pedigrees or antecedents rarely commences with either families or communities before a certain degree of wealth and eminence has been attained, and the materials for such reconstruction are apt to be scanty or non-existent. Not many years elapsed after the Prophet's migration to Medina before he had acquired the importance which would make his genealogy a matter of widespread interest; but by that time the circumstances of his childhood and youth belonged to a fairly remote period, and little precision was to be obtained about them. We may well believe, however, that when he entered history, at the age of forty, both his parents were in their graves.

Several of his relatives are historical figures, and one, his cousin Ali, is prominent. But, just as it is difficult to detect Napoleonic qualities in Louis, Joseph, Jerome or even Lucien Bonaparte, so we find little or nothing in the records of Mahomet's uncles and cousins which bears any resemblance to his characteristics. If he had any precusors they appear to have had no ambition to become reformers, and still less rulers of the community.

Before his call, so the tradition asserts, Mahomet was engaged in the carrying trade, but also in retail trade in Mecca. The Koran itself shows little knowledge of geography, but its descriptions of voyages suggest that its author had travelled by sea. It is acquainted with two seas, one salt and one sweet, separated by a barrier: possibly a reference to the Red Sea and the Nile. It knows that men find their bearings both on sea and land by stars. Guidance and error are its favorite designations of true and false religion; the straight path, i.e. the high road, is the Koran's name for the true faith.

Many a metaphor is taken from the language of commerce, and it would seem that the author was accustomed to handle large sums. We are not told in what goods the Prophet's caravans traded; he seems to know more about live-stock than any other article of commerce. The Bedouins of our day trade in the same.

One who could follow the history of the Arabian peninsula in the century which saw Mahomet's birth would have heard much of religious wars. Christian states and Christian communities had been founded in many regions; and some form of monotheism, identified

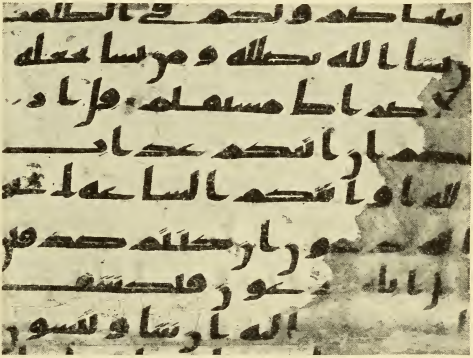
ISLAM'S RELIGIOUS CENTRE: THE KAABA IN THE GREAT MOSQUE AT MECCA

Mahomet was born at Mecca in about the year 570, and his birthplace remains the most sacred city of Islam. Once a year the Kaaba is draped in a gorgeous black cloth sent with pomp from Cairo; and it is supposed to be a duty incumbent on every Moslem to make the pilgrimage to Mecca once in his lifetime, encircle the Kaaba seven times, and kiss the black stone that is built into it. Pilgrims are here seen gathered before the black-draped Kaaba in the center of the colonnaded courtyard, which in early mosques was the chief and, indeed, almost the only feature of the building.

Photo, Lord Headley

with Judaism, had at least for a time been the dominant system in the south. Mecca, however, was too obscure and isolated to attract missionaries or to be involved in these quarrels. The Koran is emphatic in its assertions that the Meccans had had no previous "guidance," had no literary tradition, and were absolutely unacquainted with the contents of the Jewish and Christian scriptures. They maintained the religion of their forefathers, which had, indeed, been substituted by wicked men for the monotheism professed by Abraham and Ishmael, who had lived in the remote past.

The results of Mahomet's activities were in the first place political, the foundation of an empire; in the second place, moral and social, the introduction of a new system of religion and law.



EXCERPTS FROM THE KORAN

No other book, with the exception of the Bible, has had such profound influence as the Koran, the instrument of Mahomet's revelation. Written on odd fragments, it was collected after the Prophet's death; the earliest copies that we have—this is ninth-century—are in Kufic characters.

British Museum

SOPHOCLES says with justice that it is foolish to aspire to despotism without wealth and friends, since she is only to be won by a host and money. The possession of the latter is the first requisite; the tradition makes Mahomet acquire it by marriage with a wealthy widow many years his senior, yet not too old to present him with a numerous family. Of this woman, Khadijah, little was recollected by the tradition; indeed, it contradicts itself by asserting that Islam first enabled women to inherit property. It is more likely that Islam regulated the shares in inheritance than that it first conferred the right of inheriting on women; and that Khadijah's possessions gave the system an economic basis at the start is quite probable. It also agrees with experience that such a woman should be the first convert, when her husband claimed to be the recipient of divine oracles.

We may also believe the tradition, which has some support from the Koran, that for a period of years this claim was kept secret, communicated to persons carefully chosen, who were pledged to discretion. It is clear from the Koran that the new doctrine was vehemently hostile to the existing religion, which must certainly have had its hierophants, and whose deities are likely to have been regarded by the bulk of the citizens with reverence and affection. It was but natural that the older priesthood should have struggled against the loss of their prestige.

THE process of gathering followers was a slow one, and the persons whom it was possible to attract belonged to different classes of the community. The Prophet's young cousin, Ali, who afterwards became his son-in-law, came very early under his influence. One of the Prophet's uncles, Hamzah, was converted. His future father-in-law and first successor, Abu Bekr, was also an early convert. This man, who earned the title of the Faithful Friend, never wavered in his allegiance; the tradition represents him as a capable man of business, but does not credit him with conspicuous intellectual or strategic gifts. The Koran admits that the bulk of the early followers were drawn from low strata of the community, persons who were not members or at least not full members of

the tribes which shared the territory between them.

At the first secret gatherings revelations were doubtless delivered by the Prophet in trance, and their content pondered. Some few of these may survive in the existing Koran, but most of that work belongs to later developments. They are short rhyming sentences, homiletic in character, chiefly dealing with the Unity of God and the Final Judgement. If it be true that Mecca was recognized by tribes spread far and wide as a sanctuary, to be visited in the Month of Pilgrimage, the abolition of the cults which brought the pilgrims thither would clearly be a most serious step, and so sagacious a man as Mahomet would calculate these consequences. Since the readmission of its temple, the Kaaba, as central sanctuary was clearly an afterthought, due to his finding the adoption of a form of Judaism unworkable, it is evident that his attitude towards that building and the ceremonies connected with it was at the outset of his mission unfriendly.

In many communities open denunciation of the city's religion would have meant death for the denouncer. It surprises us that this was not so at Mecca, but according to the tradition, an uncle of the Prophet, though not himself a believer, Abu Talib, father of Ali, protected Mahomet from violence after the mission had become public and to the end of his life; at his death Mahomet for a time took refuge at Taif, and returned to Mecca only when he had obtained a promise of protection from another chieftain. His humbler adherents were not similiarly privileged, and for these Mahomet is said to have found refuge in Abyssinia.

The ten years of open preaching at Mecca are most imperfectly chronicled, and contain few incidents comparable in importance with those of the subsequent period. The Koran retains the memory of many a mood: elation caused by some success, depression resulting from some failure, bitterness due to repulses or insults. When the Prophet's warnings are received with contempt, he has the

CITY WHENCE MOHAMET RULED HIS ARABIAN EMPIRE

Second only in sanctity to Mecca, where Mahomet was born, is Medina, where he died in 632; his tomb is in the splendid mosque visible in this photograph. It was hither that the Prophet fled from Mecca in 622, the year that dates the beginning of the Moslem era, the Hejira or Hijra ('migration'), and thenceforward it was his stronghold and principal residence. Hence its title of al-Madina, 'the city' par excellence, instead of the older name, Yathrib.

Photo, E.N.A.

THE PROPHET IN THE PANOPLY OF WAR

The earliest Moslems were too occupied with conquest to concern themselves with art. When settled conditions returned it was the conquered who supplied the deficiency, and the Abbasid period was renowned for Perso-Moslem portraiture, nothing of which survives. Our earliest representations of Mahomet date from the Mongolian period: this miniature, showing him at the siege of Banu Nadir, is from a manuscript, dated 1310, of the Jami' el-Tawarikh of Rashid ed-Din.

From F. R. Martin, 'The Miniature Painting of Persia, India and Turkey'

example of earlier prophets to console him; he can render railing for railing, and heartily curse his opponents. He can promise them a terrible reckoning. But these days were not all dark; some of the effusions are in a bright, even a merry vein; evidently his eloquence attracted many and won a good deal of admiration. To us, indeed, the repetitions of the same stories seem unendurable; but it is likely that their effectiveness was what caused them to be repeated; the revelations had the attraction of combining old with new.

About the government of Mecca during this period we know very little; a violent breach with it first occurred when Mahomet invoked foreign aid. From this time the relations between Mahomet and the Meccan sheikhs varied between open hostility and armed neutrality.

The invitation to Yathrib is said to have been a result of the internecine war between the two Arab tribes which resided there with certain Jewish communities. The latter had endeavored to keep out of the struggle, but, being forced into it, had helped the tribe with which they were allied to score a victory. Victories are won by deities, and, since at Mecca there was a man who claimed to be an emissary of the Jewish deity to whom this victory had doubtless been attributed, some members of the defeated tribe were anxious to procure this ally. The victors, however, were naturally eager to do the same, and a scheme which had been intended to bring about a continuance of the struggle led to its cessation.

In accepting the invitation the Prophet acted with great caution. A solemn pledge was exacted of the deputation who invited him that he would enjoy no less protection in Yathrib than he was enjoying in Mecca; an agent was sent thither many months before he himself started, to keep him in touch with the affairs of Yathrib, and to inform him of the reception enjoyed by his Meccan adherents, who proceeded to migrate to this city of refuge, and who, when he arrived, would serve as a bodyguard on whose loyalty he could rely. Only on the eve of his departure did his fellow citizens realize the danger which this enterprise meant to themselves. They resolved on his assassination, but while this was being elabo-

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rately planned he escaped, accompanied by Abu Bekr. After employing some expedients to mislead their pursuers, they ultimately reached their destination.

Whereas camel breeding was the staple industry of Mecca, cultivation of the palm was that of Yathrib, which we may now call Medina, since in the Koran it is known as al-Madina, "The City"—the city, that is to say, of the Prophet of God. The Prophet appears to have made a serious mistake in endeavoring to deal with the latter, and had to find some other means of supporting his followers. Raiding of the Meccan caravans was the expedient to which he resorted.

GABRIEL INSTRUCTS MAHOMET

The revelations that constitute the Koran were made to Mahomet in different manners, and not all had the same degree of immutability. One method, it was believed, was for the archangel Gabriel to act as intermediary; and this is represented in a painting from another Jami' el-Tawarikh manuscript.

From F. R. Martin, 'The Miniature Painting of Persia, India and Turkey'

An enterprise of this sort carried out in the second year of his residence at Medina resulted in his first important victory at Badr, where he defeated a Meccan force, though the caravan which he had hoped to capture escaped. After this he was able to deal successfully with internal and external enemies, having at his disposal a better disciplined force than was to be found in Arabia, with partisans on whose unquestioning obedience he could rely, being always ready to take good advice on military matters, and having an extraordinary talent for gauging men's abilities. His subjugation of the peninsula proceeded with speed; men of military talent or genius who had been among his opponents came over to his side. He is even said to have issued an identical note to all known sovereigns, bidding them accept Islam if they meant to be safe.

SEEMINGLY, the period from Mahomet's call to his death was twenty-three years, of which the first three were secret preparation, the next ten missionary activity; the remainder spent in the multifarious duties of monarch and military commander at Medina. We may well believe that his death seemed at first incredible to his devotees; a passage in the Koran, wherein it is anticipated, is said to have been interpolated on this occasion. That work furnished no obvious guidance on the question of a successor, and his adherents are to this day divided on this subject. In default of a son and heir the succession went to fathers-in-law, then to husbands of his daughters, then to a brother-in-law, who founded a dynasty.

We now proceed to outline the system which Mahomet substituted for those beliefs which were current in Arabia before his time. Of a certainty these were polytheistic, and, it would seem, involved various orders of supernatural beings, male as well as female. Probably each tribe had its god or patron; and where tribes were collected into a community there was fusion of cults. According to tradition stones which, whether carved or not, represented deities existed in great numbers round the cubic building which was then, as now, the Meccan temple.

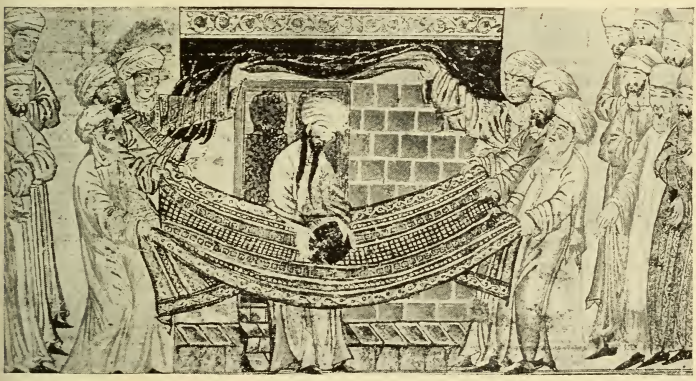
It is unsafe to accept the account of a religion given by a bitter opponent, and it is possible that the opinions refuted in the Koran were in part some that had

been improvised in the course of controversy. If the Meccans knew about angels, and had worked them into their system, they cannot have been altogether ignorant of Judaeo-Christian beliefs; and if other beings had subordinate rank to Allah the difference between Mahomet's monotheism and the Meccan system would not have appeared in the first article of the former's creed. Yet that article, "There is no God but Allah (the god or God)," was doubtless intended to be an innovation, conflicting with Meccan beliefs. In promulgating this proposition Mahomet believed himself to be the true successor of the Biblical prophets, beginning with Adam and ending with Jesus Christ. Allah was the sole creator of Heaven and earth. His existence with some of his attributes could be inferred from the phenomena of Nature.

The second and last proposition of the creed, "Mahomet is the ambassador of Allah," is connected with a theory of prophecy which, without being identical, is not unconnected with Judaeo-Christian views. An "ambassador" means one sent, an apostle; a prophet (in Arabic) means one who has information. In some cases the message was confined to a particular order, or warning against some particular offence. In others, notably those of Moses, David and Jesus, the message took the form of a Book, whose contents would be likely to contain rules of conduct, but need not be confined to such material. The divine communication was somehow put into the Prophet's mind, though the mode appears to have been envisaged differently at different times.

At one period the current notion seems to have been that the Prophet had access to a book written in a divine language, which he was empowered to translate into Arabic. At other times an angel, Gabriel, acted as intermediary. It seems clear that the Prophet regularly received the communications in trance, and that these were committed to memory or copied down by persons privileged to hear them. Late in his career there would appear to have been a whole staff of persons who acted as scribes on these occasions.

RELIGION in most of its known forms has two elements: mythology and ritual. Mahomet accepted the Judaeo-



MAHOMET CONSECRATES THE BLACK STONE

The same manuscript as that mentioned opposite shows Mahomet replacing the black stone after the rebuilding of the Kaaba. This stone, probably of meteoric origin, was an object of worship to the pre-Islamic Meccans and was built into one corner of a rectangular 'ka'bah' or chamber. Mahomet, though bent on abolishing idol-worship, was reluctant to ruin his birthplace by destroying its sanctity and so, after rejecting Jerusalem, re-dedicated to Islam the sanctuary of the black stone.

From F. R. Martin, 'The Miniature Painting of Persia, India and Turkey'

Christian mythology for his system, only claimed to have received it not from books or men but from Allah. This was the way wherein he conceived the Torah had been given to Moses, and Isa (Jesus) had been taught the Book and the Wisdom and the Torah and the Gospel. His revelation was thus not dependent on previous revelations but was an independent confirmation of them, whereas they, on the principle which has been stated, confirmed the genuineness of his book. Moses' revelation was superseded by that given to Isa, the Christian Messiah; the latter, similarly, by that given to Mahomet.

But besides historical matter the sacred books also contain rules of conduct, or laws; and the Islamic systems treat as parts of one system ritual, civil and criminal law. Early Islamic jurists arrived at the conclusion that the "pillars" of Islam were five in number: the creed of two propositions, the daily ceremony called prayer, the fast which is maintained throughout one of the twelve lunar months, the pilgrimage to be undertaken once at least in a lifetime, and the yearly tax for the benefit of the poorer members of the community, called alms. These pillars were laid at different periods of the Prophet's activity, and were not completed till some time after his death. Even the short creed can scarcely belong to the commencement of the mission.

Stereotyping of postures assumed, and formulae uttered, as well as the number of times in the day (five) for and the time-limits of prayer, were slowly evolved. The value of this ceremony, wherein lines of worshippers adopt simultaneously the same postures behind a leader as at military drill, is unlikely to have been recognized before such drill became a necessity. The form of words which therein corresponds to the Christian Paternoster contains polemical allusions to Jews and Christians which indicate a period near the close of the Prophet's career. It would appear, however, that some form of prayer (for which an Aramaic word is employed, was introduced at the commencement of the mission.

Although the Jewish and Christian Day of Rest did not appeal to this man of affairs, the advantage of a regular weekly meeting of Believers was apparent, and when relations with the Jews of Medina had become strained the Friday was adopted for this purpose, and the Meccan Temple made the direction of prayer in lieu of Jerusalem. This change laid the way for the conciliation of Mecca, which was further hastened by the institution of the Pilgrimage to that place, involving the retention of a number of ceremonies whose origin was pagan, though a new interpretation could be given them, based on the Biblical theory that the northern Arabs were, through Ishmael, descendants of Abraham.

Apparently the fasting month, wherein food of all sorts is forbidden from sunrise to sunset, belongs to military discipline. It means the turning of night into day and vice versa. The demand of a regular contribution from income for the maintenance of the poor of the community corresponds with the introduction of a system of taxation into an organized state. While Islam was going through its earliest stages the struggle for existence compelled the wealthier members to devote some portion of their substance to the support of the destitute.

Besides mythology and ritual a religion should also have doctrine and morality. Next to the unity of Allah the doctrine whereon the Koran most insists is the Future Life and the Day of Judgement. In the opening chapter of the Koran (which serves in lieu of the Paternoster) Allah is described as King of the Day of Judgement, the phrase adopted being Hebrew or Aramaic. The tradition adds many details about that Day to what is stated in the Koran; but the Koran is clear that a record of men's acts is being kept, and that according to the preponderance of good or evil the dead, raised to life, will be introduced into Paradise or cast into a flaming Hell. The Paradise will offer a variety of sensual delights—the Koran promises:

> All who believe in Allah and His Prophet shall be admittcd hereafter into delightful gardens. They shall repose for ever on couches decked with gold and precious stones, being supplied with abundance of luscious wine, fruits of the choicest variety, and the flesh of birds. They shall be accompanied by damsels of unsurpassed beauty, with large, black, pearl-like eyes.

It is not easy to demonstrate the theory that Mahomet was a moral reformer,

because we know little of pagan life in his part of Arabia which is not learned from the Koran. Prohibition of alcoholic liquors was introduced as a measure of military discipline; it has become a prominent feature of the system, and those who regard this as a moral reform have a right to claim it for the Prophet. The extent to which female infanticide was practised is too obscure to enable us to state with confidence that its prohibition made a great difference in the life of the community.

In sexual morality it does not appear that any noticeable change was introduced. The Prophet, as his fortunes rose, increased his harem like other Oriental potentates, chiefly, so far as we can judge, with some political purpose. The Koran claims certain privileges in this matter for him on the ground of his prophetic office, yet it is not clear that the text which gives a general rule meant to limit a Moslem to a particular number of wives, and the number of concubines permitted is certainly unlimited. For those who suppose the number of the former to be limited the extreme facility of divorce renders the limit nugatory. The institution of slavery was left unaltered except for certain regulations facilitating manumission, and the treatment of the latter as a pious act, which could serve as expiation of certain offences.

If there was one virtue which was associated with early Islam, that was courage. To some extent this may have been infused by the declarations that death in battle furnished a passport to Paradise, and that squadrons of angels were on the fighter's side. Yet the men Mahomet attracted and endeavored to win were largely persons who enjoyed fighting; and the introduction of angels had the great advantage that it furnished the enemy when defeated with an excuse which saved his face.

The degree of religious toleration Mahomet ultimately admitted was an outcome of his military and political system. Bloodshed on a large scale was (the Koran asserts) proper for a prophet at the commencement of his career, and only financial necessity led him at first to accept ransoms for prisoners. But when a large body of men is habitually maintained by plunder they are unfitted to earn their living by agriculture and trade; and if the adoption of a creed automatically transforms the plundered into shareholders with the plunderers the chances of continuing this form of livelihood steadily dwindle. Hence the idea arose of permitting certain communities to retain their religion on condition of their disarming and paying tribute to the Mahomedan army. Although, then, the Jews are unsparingly attacked in the Koran, and the Christian doctrine declared to be a blasphemy sufficient to cause a cataclysm, the needs of the State rendered it advisable to grant these communities the means of self-maintenance.

The chief blot on the system and one that has been more fatal to it than any other is the legitimation of perjury. It is at the discretion of one who has sworn an oath to violate it on condition of his performing some act of charity if his means permit, or fasting for a certain period if he be destitute.

Mahomet's career is unique in known history, and comparisons with those of other reformers or empire-builders are halting. Other men starting with no more capital have collected armies and raised themselves to thrones; and others without military operations have founded religious systems which have persisted. Mahomet accomplished both; and, though his procedure as a conqueror has much in common with those of other political adventurers, what is remarkable in him as a prophet is that he could not be called a fanatic.

The combination of the two functions, that of religious reformer and that of political adventurer, has complicated the task of judging his career, since different standards are ordinarily applied to the two. The saintliness which is a requisite in a prophet is not demanded of a conqueror; on the other hand, it is difficult to feel admiration for a religious teacher unless his teaching be believed to be sound.

Although composed by his followers, the biography of Mahomet makes it clear that he never allowed any scruple to stand between him and success. His mentality is indicated by his ruling that profession of Islam was what mattered, the sincerity of such profession being no concern of his. The rule that life was forfeited by apostasy was sufficient to render conversions permanent. The

FAST AND PRAYER: TWO OF THE FIVE PILLARS OF ISLAM

It can only have been towards the end of Mahomet's career that the prescribed formulae of prayer were evolved; and probably not until after his death that the ritual of the daily prayer drill was stereotyped and made one of the five 'pillars' of Islam. These Algerian Mahomedans are in the third posture—complete prostration—of the prayer drill, in which the worshippers carry out the various motions simultaneously; the occasion is the Fast of Ramadan, another of the 'pillars'.

maxim that Islam cancelled all that was before it rendered inquiry into a convert's antecedents superfluous. Another maxim appears conspicuously in his conduct of affairs, viz. that every man has his price. His private life, for the period wherein it is recorded, presented more than one domestic scandal, which in themselves shock the reader less than his claim of divine authorization for his procedure in these matters.

His doctrine is summed up in the two propositions of his Creed, that there is only one God, and (or but) Mahomet is that God's ambassador; the will of that one God is, therefore, to be known only through Mahomet, whence professing monotheists who are not also Mahomedans are designated enemies of Allah. In his lifetime the danger which resulted from the ascription of ill-considered legislation to the Deity was modified by the theory that Allah could abrogate his revelations, and that some of the Prophet's utterances were not ex cathedra. But the Koranic assertion that their religion was completed compelled his successors to abide by the rulings of the Koran where such existed, and, where they failed, to seek guidance in such of his words and deeds as happened to be handed down. Possibly the stagnation or retrogression of Islamic countries is ultimately referable to geographical and climatic conditions; but the theory that one man is the sole and final channel whereby the divine will is communicated to Mankind is at least secondarily responsible for it.

A STUDY OF JAPANESE ORIGINS

THE DIVERSE RACIAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS THAT WENT TO THE BUILDING OF JAPANESE CIVILIZATION

By L. H. DUDLEY BUXTON

Reader in Physical Anthropology in the University of Oxford; Author of The Peoples of Asia, etc.

THE study of Japanese origins can be approached from two points of view. We can either rely on the excavations of archaeologists or we can study the modern peoples. Let us begin with the latter.

If you stand on a cold winter's day on the quay-side of Aomori at the very end of the central island of Japan, waiting for the steamer to carry you across to the northern island, Hokkaido, you will see two entirely different types of peoples in the crowd. Most of those waiting will be Japanese. There is no mistaking them. They wear kimonos and probably wooden pattens on their feet, and seem to be dressed for the warmer skies of southern Japan, not for the icy blast that comes from the sea. They are mostly very short, with round faces. The women have straight, black hair, and, though some of the men have moustaches, none have more than a few straggling hairs on the chin. Everybody's eyes are brown, and the eye-slits are almond-shaped.

Although most of the crowd are Japanese, dainty, polite, pleasant-spoken, very helpful to the stranger, yet you will if you are lucky see sitting down cross-legged in a corner some very different people. They may be clothed in skins, or in a dark tunic with bold patterns on it. Both in their garments and in their faces they are quite different from the Japanese, and they speak a totally different language.

The women look at first sight as if they had moustaches, but a closer examination will show that they have really tattooed the upper lip and part of the cheek in a fair imitation of a fierce cavalry moustache. They have also tattoo marks round the wrist and on the back of the hand. Their faces are much more oval-shaped than those of the Japanese, and their hair often has a distinct wave, quite unlike the straight locks of the Japanese. Their eyes, though usually brown, may occasionally be hazel, and, unlike the Japanese, they are most often large and open like our own, not almond-shaped. They usually have rather high cheek-bones and coarse, thick noses. But the men present the greatest contrast. They are heavily built fellows of medium height, and, especially if they are old, they have enormous beards hanging down almost as far as their waists. They have a great bony bar across their foreheads, the so-called 'bar of Michelangelo,' which with their heavy eyebrows often gives them a scowling appearance. Unlike the Japanese they seem dressed to stand the cold, and are obviously used to it. Perhaps they are even walking along the half-frozen landing-stage with bare feet.

We are still in Japan itself, and close to the docks are the typical examples of Japanese culture. There are rice-fields, flooded and being ploughed with a water buffalo. The houses are lightly built of bamboo and paper, with tiled roofs; everywhere, as throughout all Japan, there are signs of a civilization which, in spite of the introduction of modern industrialism, depends mainly on the products of semi-tropical eastern Asia, rice and bamboo. On the northern island cultural surroundings are very different. In the towns Japanese life and thought are dominant. But the Japanese are colonists who have brought their civilization with them into a strange land. Although there are traces of the Ainu everywhere they are a dying people, and to find their true culture one must visit their villages. The houses are built solidly of logs and are thatched with straw. In the centre of the house there is a great hearth with a fire burning, and smoke finds its way out through the roof.

Each house consists of a single room; there are none of the paper compartments of a Japanese house.

The strangest thing of all, however, is that they have no pottery of any sort. When an Ainu housewife wants to boil some water she does it in a kettle made of bark. There is never a crock, a cup, a saucer or a jug in the house, unless it has been bought from the Japanese. This is very striking and of great ethnological importance, as we shall see later.

The Japanese administration is compelling the Ainu to change some of their habits, but they prefer to live mainly on the spoils of the chase and on fish, for they are very skilful fishermen. The women practise a little agriculture, almost of the Stone Age type, cutting off the ears of grain with knives made of shell. We are dealing, in fact, with a very primitive people whose culture in many ways recalls the culture which some of our ancestors living on the shores of the Baltic must have practised long ages ago.

The contrast that I have drawn between the outward appearance of the Japanese and the Ainu is reflected in the skeletal remains, both in ancient and modern times. Even if you dress up an Ainu in Japanese clothing he looks entirely different from a Japanese. Similarly it is hardly possible to mistake a Japanese skull for that of an Ainu. First of all, the Ainu skull is very massive and tends to be either long or of medium length, whereas the Japanese is much more slender and tends to be more rounded. Then the Japanese skulls have smooth foreheads, whereas the Ainu skulls have a well-developed massing of bone above the eyes, large 'brow ridges,' as they are called by anthropologists.

Now, it would hardly be surprising if

SURVIVORS IN THE NORTH OF THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF ALL JAPAN

The tattoo marks on the arm and round the lips of the woman (left), her thick hair and the profuse beard of the man, their more Western-looking eyes and noses and the prominent eyebrow ridges, and the thick, dark clothing so unlike the Japanese kimono, all sharply distinguish these Ainu of Hokkaido from the inhabitants of the other Japanese islands. Archaeological investigation suggests that these were the original stratum of population on which the Japanese were imposed from without.

From Batchelor, The Ainu and their Folklore; and photo, Nippon Yusen Kaisha

we found such skulls in the northern island of Hokkaido; but, as a matter of fact, in all the most ancient graves which have been found even as far south as Kyoto the skeletons belonged to people who in physical form strongly resembled the modern Ainu. They were not quite identical, and possibly, as we shall see later, belonged to a different branch of the same people.

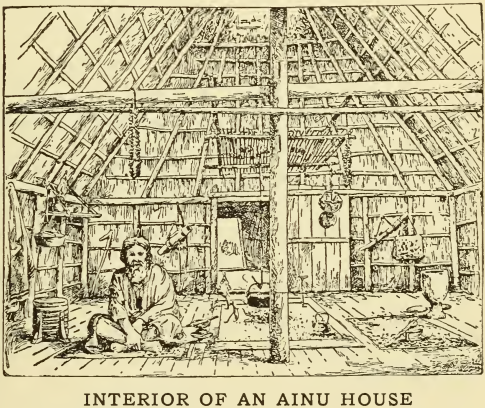
The cultural evidence conflicts in some respects with the evidence provided by the actual remains of the people, for the remains of the material culture of the Stone Age in Japan are extremely different from anything associated with the Ainu. Rather rude pottery has been found in abundance, together with ornaments made of clay and shell and some of deer's horn. A few stone implements, including stone axes and arrow-heads, have also been excavated. On the other hand, the evidence of non-material culture as far as it goes seems rather to support the evidence provided by physique. It seems probable that over both the central and northern islands of Japan a tongue the same as or similar to the modern Ainu was at one time spoken. But there are at present no traces of a material culture like that of the modern Ainu elsewhere than in the island of Hokkaido, although a similar culture does occur on the island of Saghalien, and even traces of such a culture on the mainland of Siberia.

It may be suggested that the Ainu are the degenerate descendants of more advanced ancestors. This, however, seems improbable; people who once used pottery are not likely ever to have forgotten it. We may probably conclude, therefore, that pottery never was known in northern Japan.

One of the features which characterize Japanese history and which has impressed itself on the social organization of Japan is the continual struggle with the Ainu, who were not entirely driven out of the southern island until comparatively late in historical times. In the southern part of the empire they have been entirely absorbed and little if any trace of them can be found to-day. All that remains of the Ainu in this region is the prehistoric grave mounds, which are found in various places. We do not know when these early people first saw their land invaded by aliens of another race, nor exactly who the first invaders were.

But modern Japanese people appear to belong to two or three different types. The older ethnologists distinguished a coarse and a fine type, and the distinction is one which may be confirmed by observation. The invaders seem to have belonged certainly to two types that are found on the mainland of Asia to-day, and that correspond in a certain degree, although not entirely, to the modern Japanese in physical form.

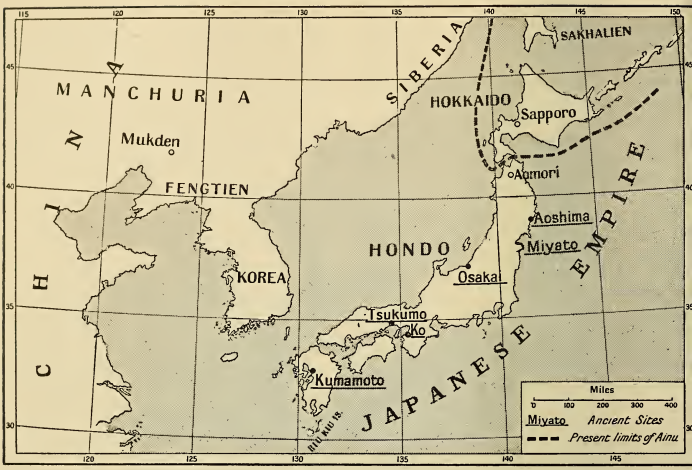
It was originally suggested that the origin of the Japanese people was to be found in the Malay region. It is true that such types are to be found there, but they are almost certainly immigrants to that area, to which they came from south-



INTERIOR OF AN AINU HOUSE

In contrast with the flimsy constructions of the warmer south, Ainu houses are stoutly built of wood. An oblong space in the center, of great sanctity, is reserved for the hearth; the cauldron seen suspended over it in this drawing is not of Ainu manufacture, for the Ainu make no pottery themselves.

From Hitchcock, The Ainos of Yezo



ISLAND WORLD IN WHICH THE DISTINCTIVE JAPANESE CULTURE AROSE

As this map shows, the Ainu in Japan to-day are confined to the northern island of Hokkaido or Yezo, though prehistoric burials in the southern islands yield types almost indistinguishable from the modern Ainu. Who exactly the people were who supplanted them is still quite uncertain, but the geographical facts make it extremely likely that they came from Korea or through Korea from Manchuria; though their nearest physical affinities to-day are to be found in southern China and the Malay peninsula.

ern China. Indeed, to-day some of the people of southern China and Indo-China are very closely allied physically to the Japanese. It must not be supposed, however, that the ancestors of the Japanese necessarily came from southern China. There has been a succession of invasions into China from the west at various times. These invasions have pushed some of the more northerly people southwards and quite possibly pushed others in an easterly direction into Japan. In any case, the fact remains that they certainly are akin to one another. But this would only account for part of the modern Japanese people.

Korea and Manchuria lie very close to Japan, and there is also a close resemblance between the inhabitants of the two regions. It is probable that the 'fine' type in Japan is akin to the Manchu-Korean type, and though this type is by no means a pure one, but is rather a mixture of the kind of man who is to-day found in southern China with a more northerly type, and perhaps with some of the invaders who originally drove the first ancestors of the Japanese into Japan. However, this mixed type came into Japan at some unknown time, probably in the period known to Japanese archaeologists as the middle Neolithic Age, whose date at present is undetermined. The introduction of metal into Japan seems to have been accompanied by another invasion also from Korea.

Japanese a Mixed Race

THE result of this series of invasions has been that the Japanese to-day are physically a very mixed type. There is however, one fundamentally important difference between the modern Japanese and their Stone Age predecessors. The former belong to the same racial group as ourselves, usually known to anthropologists as the Cymotrichi, or wavy-haired peoples, but the modern Japanese, in

common with the Chinese and the majority of the inhabitants of eastern Asia, belong to a totally different type of man, the straight-haired group or Leiotrichi. This group of mankind is sometimes known as the Mongolian race.

At present, owing to the fact that no archaeological material has been found which can definitely be compared with other countries, we do not know the date when this change took place. If I were pressed to give a date, I should say perhaps some time before 3000 B.C.; but that is a mere conjecture, and the actual date may be as much as 1500 years later. It is almost certain that the process of immigration was a gradual one. The straight-haired invaders did not suddenly overrun the country and utterly destroy the previous inhabitants. They gradually spread, and drove out the aborigines before them, probably to a certain extent intermarrying with them. But this spreading took a very long time. Even in the historic period the Japanese were still engaged in establishing their footing in the northern part of their main island. In Hokkaido it may be said that the gradual extension of the Japanese race as against the Ainu is still continuing to-day.

If we leave the question of the origin of the Japanese physical type and turn to the history of Japanese material culture, we are at present faced with greater difficulties and with problems which still await the spade of the archaeologist.

PROGRESS IN POTTERY AMONG THE EARLIEST DWELLERS IN JAPAN

The occupants of the prehistoric graves in the south differ from the modern Ainu in the possession of pottery. The culture can be divided into three periods: in the first (a and b) the pottery is coarse, with curving ornament dabbed on in relief and sometimes with a design made by pressing a mat on to the clay; in the second (c) the fabric is much better, and the curved ornament is incised; in the third the ornament is geometrical—the examples shown here (d and e) are either of the third or the very end of the second. The last (f) represents the beginning of the Iron Age.

After Matsumoto, restorations by L. H. Dudley Buxton

The earliest culture which has so far been found on the mainland in China is associated with an extremely fine painted pottery, some of which shows a relationship with similar painted wares from the Near East. This pottery has a wide distribution in China, and extends even as far as the central province of Manchuria, Fengtien, whose capital is the well-known town of Mukden. Farther to the east it has not so far been discovered. We seem to come into an entirely different archaeological zone; it would be described by archaeologists as Neolithic, though I do not mean to suggest that it is necessarily comparable in date or character with the Neolithic in Europe, for it has a character all its own, and its date is at present quite uncertain, probably not very early relatively. This Neolithic culture existed in Manchuria, Korea and Japan, three regions which appear to have formed a culture province and whose relations with Asia are not fully understood.

QUAINT FIGURES OF THEMSELVES MADE BY THE PREHISTORIC AINU

It is hardly imaginable that the modern Ainu can have forgotten the art of pottery making; more probably an intrusive culture from the mainland, carried over by trade or driven eastwards by the painted-pottery makers, established itself in the south but never reached the north. These figurines, that distinguish the middle Neolithic period, argue quite a high technical skill; they show a transition in that their features are partly incised, partly bits of clay dabbed on in the earlier manner.

From Maeda, 'Japanische Steinzeit'

The Neolithic Age in Japan can be divided into three periods: early, middle and late. The early period represents the beginning of things as far as our archaeological evidence goes at present. This is probably due to the fact that the earlier cultures were not unlike that of the modern Ainu to-day, of whose utensils, as I have already pointed out, remarkably little would survive owing to their perishable nature, and of whom we should know very little indeed if we could not study them in the flesh. The early period is characterized by a rather coarse, thick pottery with designs in low relief. This ornamentation is usually obtained by pressing bits of clay on to the pot after it had been shaped. The designs are sometimes in spirals and curves; sometimes there is a simple cord pattern like so much Neolithic pottery. A remarkable feature, however, of the early Neolithic Age of Japan is the very elaborate form of the handles of the pots.

This culture is clearly an imported one. It bears much in common with other known Neolithic cultures of Eurasia but presents certain local features. It may, I think, be reasonably suggested that it represents a type of pottery which has ultimately descended from the Neolithic wares of the west. The elaboration of the handles suggests that the pottery has a long history behind it, even though the ware is sometimes coarse. Some of the pots have a pattern which seems to have been made by pressing a mat or cloth on to the pot, a type of pottery which occurs elsewhere.

In the middle Neolithic Age the type of pottery changes. First of all the pots are crude and thick, but later specimens are found in which the potters have become masters of their craft and are able to make thin ware. The type of ornamentation is entirely different. Instead of patterns being made in low relief they are incised either with some sort of blunt implement or with the thumb-nail. The types of patterns are either curves or spirals as in the earlier pottery. Mat designs occur and the handles gradually

grow smaller until they disappear altogether. In this period some curious human figures have been found. The features are indicated partly by dabbing on bits of clay and partly by making incisions with a stick or other implement.

In the late Neolithic the mat patterns disappear or are merely imitated by incised patterns. The curves and spiral patterns also disappear, and their place is taken by geometrical designs.

This period is followed by the beginning of the use of metal. At this time there appear to have been in use two types of pottery, one of which is closely akin to some of the contemporary pottery from Korea, while other specimens show a resemblance to the pottery at the end of the Neolithic period.

Now, all through the Neolithic Age in Japan, great as are the differences between the beginning and the end, the tendency seems to be generally along evolutionary lines. The pottery has developed in an orderly sequence, following the same lines that it has followed elsewhere, but still doing it without any great revolutionary change. We do not get any violent change suggesting a complete alteration of culture until the very end of the Stone Age; it would seem that on the whole, once the unknown traders or invaders, probably few in number, had started the Neolithic culture of Japan, it went on developing by its own momentum, although it is possible that the neighboring coast of Korea may have been not without a certain influence.

Introduction of Metal

At the end of the Neolithic period a change took place. So far we have not found any evidence of an invasion before the end of the Neolithic period, but it

NEAR NARA: THE OLDEST BUDDHIST TEMPLE IN JAPAN

Time was when the capital of Japan changed with every emperor; the first permanent capital was Nara, the residence of eight successive rulers after A.D. 709. What attracted the court may well have been the sanctity of the place, for Buddhism, introduced in 552, was by then the state religion, and near by at Horyuji is a splendid Buddhist temple, the oldest in Japan, having been founded by the regent Shotoku Taishi (572-621). This is the Kondo or main hall.

Photo, E.N.A.

is not impossible that it began during this time. The introduction of metal was revolutionary. The invaders were sufficiently numerous or sufficiently warlike to conquer the land, and either exterminate or drive into the more inaccessible regions all the old Neolithic peoples. They changed the physical type of Japan, gradually spreading until they had occupied the whole island. They brought a different culture with them, a culture which shows affinities, as might be expected, with that of Korea, whence they almost certainly came. But so tenacious of life were the old forms of culture that, side by side with the new, they still persisted.

From the beginning of the historic period onwards for centuries Japan was occupied in putting her new house in order, and in subduing the aborigines. The invaders had a very hard struggle to establish themselves and this necessitated a military and feudal organization which developed and survived in Japan almost down to modern times. The colonization of Hokkaido has been continuing since the tenth century, and is even now not quite complete.

At this point we can leave the evidence of archaeology and turn to the more definite, though sometimes inaccurate, information of the chronicles. Of these there are two which record early Japanese history. One is The Records of Ancient Matters compiled apparently from native sources in A.D. 712, and the other The Chronicle of Japan (A.D. 720). Much contained in these histories is legendary, but they contain undoubtedly a stratum of fact, although they can hardly be said to be historical until A.D. 500. The dates appear to be approximately 120 years too early.

During the early legendary period, stated to be from 660 B.C. to A.D. 500, the names of twenty-four sovereigns are given, of whom seventeen reigned for impossible periods. This period undoubtedly begins with the invasions of Mongolian folk from Korea, a fact which is actually stated in one of the versions of the Chronicles. The emperor Jimmu, whom the Japanese revere as the first human emperor, and the fifth in direct descent from the Sun Goddess, is said to have had a campaign of seven years, at the end of which he was crowned (in 660 B.C.) in Yamato. Following him are eight emperors of whom no details are given. The tenth emperor, in whose reign there was great pestilence, died in 30 B.C. Probably making allowance for the 120 years mentioned above, the actual date is about the beginning of the second century A.D.

For the next two hundred years the most important events in Japanese history are the continuous series of fights with the Ainu, and the gradual setting of the kingdom in order. Shipbuilding seems to have made considerable progress, and in A.D. 405 (in Japanese history 285, that is 120 years too early) writing was introduced from Korea. We may date written history from A.D. 473. The introduction of Chinese civilization, however, did not come until A.D. 552, when Buddhism was introduced from Korea into Japan.

Contemporaneously with the spread of Buddhism considerable reforms in the organization of the kingdom took place. The emperor Kotoku is credited with the organization of a ministry on the lines of the T'ang dynasty in China and with numerous legislative reforms. In 709 the first permanent capital was built at Nara, where the court resided for 75 years, during which time there were four emperors and four sovereign empresses. The reign of Shomu Tenno (724-748) has left the famous Buddha and many pagodas at Nara. Japan had definitely emerged from her early state of development and contributed to the art treasures of the world. Finally the fiftieth emperor Kwammu moved the capital from Nara to Yamashiro and built the famous city of Kyoto.

HINDUISM AND THE GROWTH OF CASTE

RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA DURING THE GOLDEN AGE OF ARYAN CIVILIZATION

E. B. HAVELL

Author of 'A Short History of India,' 'Aryan Rule in India,' 'Indian Sculpture and Painting,' etc.

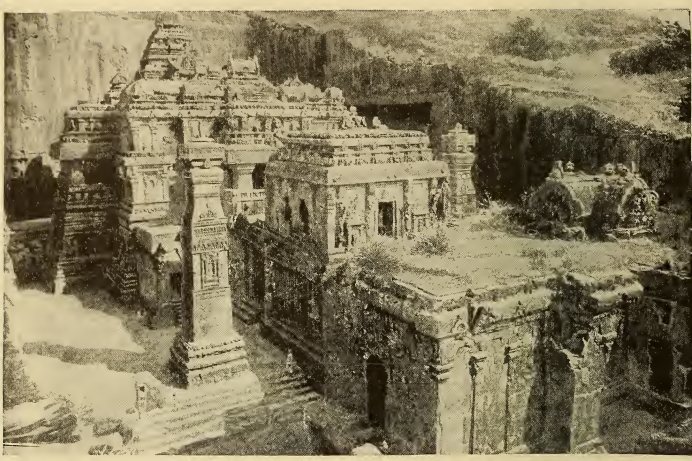
It must be understood that the antithesis implied by the European terms "Buddhism" and "Hinduism" has no historical justification. The Buddha himself was as much a Hindu as his Brahman opponents, and did not quarrel with the fundamental ideas upon which Hindu society is based. Buddhism was only one of the many schools of religious thought to which the great Indo-Aryan social nexus called Hinduism gave birth. It is a common error to regard Hinduism as a definite religious creed, like Christianity or Islam. A Hindu is allowed the widest choice of philosophical and theological doctrines, provided that they do not conflict with the rules of caste which regulate the social and religious life of all Hinduism, particularly the strict rules of intermarriage and diet, which are the pivot of the ideas of caste purity.

The zealous propaganda of the Buddhist doctrines by the great emperor Asoka in the third century B.C. had done much to change Brahmanical customs with regard to diet and sacrificial ritual. But even Asoka enjoined reverence and liberality to Brahmans, who remained the pillars of Hindu society and had most influence in the councils of the sangha, the Church founded by the Buddha; and Fa-Hien, the Chinese traveller at the beginning of the fifth century A.D., noticed that under a Buddhist king the rules of caste were as strictly enforced as they are in a modern Hindu state.

The numerical growth of caste in the last seventeen centuries is best illustrated by the fact that, whereas the Code of Manu specifies only about fifty castes, at the present day there are about eight hundred subcastes among Brahmans alone, none of which can intermarry and very few of which can dine together. The total number of distinct castes at the present day has been estimated at about three thousand, and the number is still increasing. Even among Christian and Mahomedan converts from Hinduism caste retains its hold.

In its origin caste goes back to a very remote antiquity in India, and it cannot be explained merely as a superstition imposed upon the ignorant masses by a crafty and self-seeking priesthood. The high-caste Brahman despises temple service and the vocation of priest. The idea of physical and spiritual purity which is the center of the philosophy of caste was derived originally from the environment in which the Vedic Aryans lived. Their paradise was not located in a garden, but among the pure white peaks of the Himalayas, the Abode of Snow, where the Devas, the Shining Ones, had their thrones. When the Devas descended to earth they rode generally on white steeds. The rivers which flowed from these virgin heights purified the ground they watered and made it fit for sacrifice. But the holiest of all this holy ground was, and is to this day for Buddhists as well as for all Hindus, on the shores of the Lake Manasarovara, said to be the center of the World Lotus, and regarded as the mythical source of all the great rivers of Asia.

To this idea of regional purity was joined the conception of physical purity on the part of the sacrificer. Those who offered sacrifice to the high gods must themselves be clean and dressed in spotless white, like the Devas. Their habitual occupation and the food and drink they offered to the gods, and of which they partook, must likewise be clean. Meat



SIVA'S ROCK-HEWN TEMPLE AT KAILASA

Begun about A.D. 760 by Krishna I as a thank-offering for his victories over rival kings in Southern India, the Kailasa at Ellora, Hyderabad, is one of the wonders of the world. It was made by cutting a rectangular trench downward from the top of a cliff, and then carving the great central block thus left into a Siva temple complete in all its details. In the center is the shrine of the Sacred Bull, symbol of Siva's strength, and linked to it by a rock-hewn bridge is the pyramidal 'vimana,' symbolic of the Himalayan paradise, the Hindu equivalent of Olympus after which the temple is named.

From Havell, 'Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India,' John Murray

offerings must be purified by fire.

Another factor in the formation of caste was the conception of formal or technical purity. In the course of time the ever-increasing complication of tribal rites made the sacrificial service a highly specialized and hereditary profession. The least error in the performance of rites, a wrong word or false intonation of the hymns, might spoil the sacrifice and bring down the wrath of the Devas upon the tribe.

PERHAPS the most potent impulse, however, towards the exclusiveness of the caste system came from the belief that Sanskrit, the "pure" speech of the Brahmans, was the actual language of the gods; that divine energy reposed in the Sanskrit "mantras" (texts of a devotional nature, supposed to have been divinely inspired), and that proficiency in the science of mantra gave the Brahmans power to control the forces of Nature, to accomplish any worldly desires and to acquire divine knowledge. The right mantra ensured the success of the sacrifice and was the keynote of the many domestic ceremonies at which the services of a Brahman were needed. An elaborate system of memorizing by which the Vedas were handed down from one generation to another tended to limit this knowledge to the families of the upper hierarchy. These naturally looked askance at intermarriage with foreigners, or with those who spoke the popular dialects ("prakrits"), from the fear that the divine language might be corrupted and the Vedic tradition lost to posterity. Caste, therefore, was a system of spiritual eugenics to promote the evolution of a higher race.

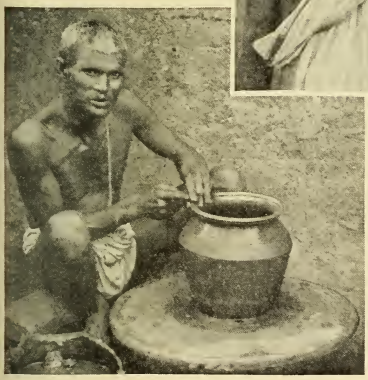
Out of the many schools of philosophy and religious doctrines which Hinduism originated there gradually emerged certain common ideas, generally accepted by all Hindus, which explained and justified caste. The first was the doctrine of reincarnation. A man's place in the

caste system was not to be considered as a mere accident of birth, but as the inevitable result of actions, good or bad, done in a previous birth, according to the law of "karma" (action), by which a man reaps what he sows, but yet remains master of his own destiny. If a man has to endure the hard lot of an out-caste in this life, it is on account of neglect of the moral law, "dharma," in a former existence.

Dharma is another doctrine of Hinduism. It is the moral law which sustains the universe. By observance of the two-fold dharma, the general law of Mankind and the particular dharma of his station in this life, he may be born to Brahmanhood in the next.

Caste is not merely a classification according to occupation, for a man may change his occupation without changing his caste. A Brahman may be a cook (for another Brahman), but yet so long as he is true to his dharma he is the spiritual superior of a Sudra king. Caste is supposed to indicate the spiritual status which a man has reached through his continual wandering in the worlds of birth and death. Brahmanhood is determined by birth only because through the sacraments of marriage observed by Brahmans it is believed that the qualities which constitute Brahmanhood, purity of thought, word and action, are most likely to be transmitted to the offspring: the souls in the higher spiritual planes awaiting reincarnation are attracted thereby to the wombs of the mothers most fitted to receive them. The lower castes are considered as those who do not control their passions and are, therefore, not qualified to take part in Brahmanical sacraments.

The social system, according to this theory, cannot be organized on the principle of universal equality, for men and women are not born equal, but in different stages of spiritual development: progress can be made only by obeying the universal law. Spiritual equality ("moksha" or "nirvana") is attained when, through following the divine law, body and mind acquire perfect purity and the chain of rebirth is broken.



BRAHMAN AND SUDRA

The original fourfold Indian caste system (of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras) is now minutely subdivided. Above are a member of a high sub-caste of Brahmans (top), of the Vaishnava sect, as shown by the Vishnu mark on his forehead, and a Sudra of the potters' caste.

Many founders of Hindu sects have tried to abolish caste distinctions, but the abolition of caste was not, as is commonly supposed, one of the principles of Buddhism. The Buddha ridiculed the pretensions of the Brahman priesthood, but he accepted caste as a part of the natural order of things. His aim was not to reform Hindu society, but to find a Way, the path of spiritual knowledge, by which all men could obtain release from the law of transmigration. The ascetic or monk who renounced all worldly ties had always been placed above the caste rules of the layman.

The Buddha maintained that his teaching was a true interpretation of the ancient Aryan tradition, and organized his sangha, the Community of the Elect, in four grades, as the lay community was graded, assuming that the spiritual law coincided with the natural law. No one could join the sangha who had social obligations

DEVAS OR 'SHINING ONES'

The idea of Hindu purity seems summed up in the Devas—divine beings from the snowy Himalayas; they are common to Brahmanism and Buddhism. These are on a fresco at Ajanta, a group of rock-cut monasteries and shrines forming a Buddhist university that flourished c. 200 B.C. to A.D. 600.

to fulfill, such as the service of the state or service in the household. Neither could those who had violated social laws seek refuge within the select Buddhist community. The intellectual qualifications required for the disputations of the community were such that the martial Kshatriyas who laid the foundations of the Buddhist sangha became outclassed by the more cultured Brahmans.

BRAHMANICAL influence within the sangha gradually effected a radical change in Buddhist doctrine, which led ultimately to the extinction of Buddhism in the land of its birth, or, rather, to its being absorbed in the main current of Hindu thought.

Following the trend of Brahmanical orthodoxy Buddhism was transformed into a definite theistic creed, with the Buddha himself as the Supreme Being. He was translated to the Indian Olympus in the heart of the Himalayas and worshipped there, as he is by Buddhist pilgrims of the present day, as the Divine Yogi and Teacher of the Universal Law. At the beginning of the Christian era we find the Graeco-Roman craftsmen of Kanishka, the great Kushan king of north-western India, representing the Buddha as enthroned in the Creator's place in the Hindu heaven, on the "seed vessel of the World Lotus"—that is, Lake Manasarovara.

Kanishka's reign—in the second century after Christ—marked the beginning of the schism, largely promoted by a Brahman monk, Nagarjuna, by which Buddhism split into two sects: the Mahayana, or School of the Great Vehicle, and the Hinayana, that of the Little Vehicle.

The Buddha was one of the Kshatriyas, the warrior aristocracy which frequently disputed the spiritual authority of the Brahmans. The primitive Buddhist Church, without absolutely repudiating the idea of a Divine Ruler, declined to attach itself to any theological cult of its own time, but laid stress on the moral order of the universe—dharma. As there was nothing higher than that law, it prescribed a code of ethics, the eightfold path, embodied in the discipline of the sangha; by following this the chain of rebirth might be broken and the soul could obtain a cessation of its wanderings in the sensual world. The right path was the path of knowledge ("jnana"), the only direct path to Nirvana, but the sangha imparted this knowledge in the vernacular instead of in Sanskrit, the divine speech of the Brahmans.

The Mahayanist school recast the teaching of primitive Buddhism in a Brahmanical mould. Dharma, the general law of righteousness, and the particular ethical qualities contained in it, were personified and placed in a series of spiritual planes as divine rulers. The historical Buddha was explained as one and not the chief of the many Buddhas and Bodhisattvas controlling the "dharma-dhatu" or spiritual essence pervading all space. Instead of the ascetic path of knowledge the Mahayanist preferred the path of devotion, by which he hoped to gain the favor of the particular Bodhisattva he adored and to be reborn in a higher spiritual sphere. By the gradual ascent of the spiritual ladder, perhaps after thousands of rebirths, he hoped to rise above a mundane existence and become a Bodhisattva himself. The Hinayana school, however, which followed the ancient Pali Canon of the sangha, with its

strict rule of celibacy, regarded the new philosophy as rank heresy.

WORSHIP of relics, jealously guarded in massive stupas, had given early Buddhism the emotional satisfaction which the ordinances of the Blessed One were intended to suppress, and frequently provided a *casus belli* for rival dynasties when the saintly Asoka's ardent propaganda for a universal peace ended with his death. The ideal Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the new Buddhism could not supply relics for worship, but it gave the royal craftsmen a wide scope for their imagination and the devout the objects they needed for concentrating their minds on their guardian deities. A regular system of mental concentration, known as "yoga," which was an essential part of the Brahmanical ritual, thus became incorporated in Mahayanist exercises.

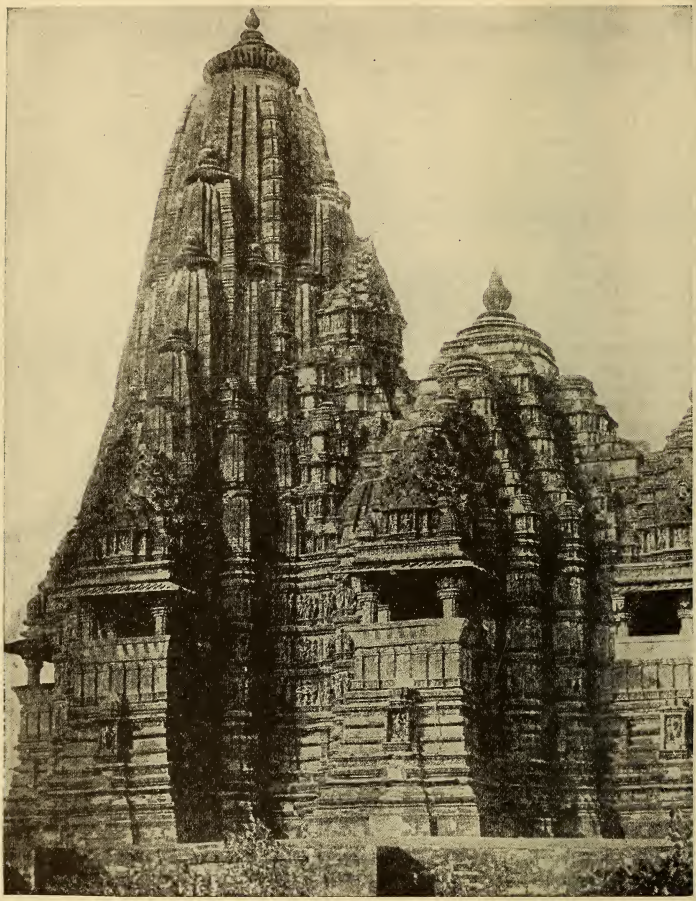
This revolutionary change in Buddhist thought was accompanied by the gradual disuse of its old literary language, Pali, a dialect of the province of Magadha, where the Buddha himself preached. The Brahmans who entered the sangha neither gave up their caste observances nor ceased to use their sacred language, Sanskirt. As Mahayanist doctrines spread Sanskrit began to be used by northern Buddhists, until at the time of the Mahomedan conquest it was almost the only written language of Indian literati.

MOREOVER, Buddhism was opposed by another school of religious thought which offered an alternative approach to Nirvana—one which had the sanction of the great Aryan hero, Krishna—in the Bhagavad Gita. This was the path of service, the "karma-marga," which the caste system marked out for everyone. It was the duty of the Kshatriya, when occasion called, to fight for the preservation of dharma and not to retire into the seclusion of the cloister. Buddhism, though it professed not to disturb the social order, was a danger to the Hindu state because the attractions of the sangha, when it became a prosperous state institution under Osoka's patronage, withdrew from military service too many of the élite of the fighting caste. When Asiatic Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and the vanguard of the Huns began to pour through the gates of India the sangha could not stay the onrush of the impure invaders. Buddhism gradually took them into its fold, and the caste system found places for the newcomers, just as today it adjusts itself to modern conditions.

VISHNU THE PRESERVER

Buddhist quietism was inadequate to the age of turmoil that the Guptas ended, so a robuster religious attitude appeared, summed up by the legendary hero Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnu. This is a ninth-century statue of Vishnu.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

But the pure-blooded Kshatriyas and Brahmans never viewed with equanimity the usurpations of political power by foreigners, and when at last, under the Guptas in A.D. 320, a federation of the aristocratic Aryan clans established the strongest empire India had known since Asoka's day, the Brahmans came into their own again as political leaders. Under Gupta patronage the great Kshatriya epic, the Mahabharata, in which the Bhagavad Gita is incorporated, was re-edited and popularized as a thesaurus of Aryan religion, ethics and statecraft, and the cult



INDIA'S GOLDEN AGE EXPRESSED IN STONE

The Guptas had made India safe for Aryan civilization, and under them and afterwards down to the Moslem conquests Hindu architecture flourished. It may be said to have reached its apex in the temples at Khajraho, in Central India, of which the Kandarya Mahadeva appears above, a Vishnu temple as its tall 'sikhara,' or spire, crowned with the lotus emblem, shows. On the right is the domed 'mandapam' or hall of congregation. The group was built by the Chandela kings and the earliest temple dates from c. 950.

Courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum

of Krishna as a divine teacher, one of the incarnations of Vishnu, a member of the great trinity of Hindu gods, began to take its place as one of the most influential schools of Hindu thought.

Buddhism in its Mahayana form spread eastwards and took deep root in China, but its prestige in India was fast declining. In A.D. 520 southern China became more important in the hierarchy of Buddhism than India itself, since Bodhidharma, the spiritual head of the sangha in India, who was said to be the twenty-eighth successor of the Buddha, removed his seat to Canton, where he was received with high honor.

BUDDHISM continued to receive a large share of state patronage in India long after the fall of the Gupta dynasty, though the gross superstitions of relic worship may have impaired its intellectual vitality and debased its ritual. The pundits of the sangha in India were eventually defeated, not by militarism or by political opponents, but by the same intellectual weapons used by the Enlightened One against the Brahmans of his time. The noble ethics of Buddhism made a permanent impression on Hindu thought, but the explanation of the problem of existence which the Buddha offered in the sixth century B.C. was not comprehensive enough to satisfy the philosophic mind of India in its maturity.

The champion of Brahman orthodoxy who is credited with having given the final blow to the doctrines of Buddhism, as they were then taught in the universities of India, was the great prophet of modern Hinduism, Sankaracharya.

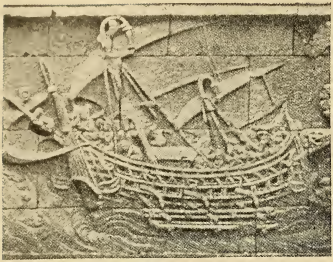
After studying under a famous Vedic scholar of southern India, Sankaracharya renounced all worldly ties, as the Buddha had done, by taking the vow of a "sannyasin" (a devotee who turns his back upon the world). He then proceeded to Benares, the chief university of Vedic studies. There he won high distinction and gathered round him a large number of pupils. It is believed that his principal works, commentaries on the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita, were written here.

Thus fully equipped, he started off

BORO BUDUR, BUDDHISM'S STUPENDOUS CREATION IN THE HEART OF JAVA

Boro Budur, the most magnificent achievement of Indian art, lies in the heart of Java, nearly 2,000 miles in a direct line from the seats of northern Indian civilization, and is believed to date from the ninth century A.D. It is a low hill cased in a pyramidal shell of intricately carved black stone; and the reliefs—two miles of them, which one views by walking round the successive terraces as one ascends—tell with a wealth of detail the story of the Buddha's life in various incarnations, for the monument belongs to the Mahayanist or northern school of Buddhism.

Photo, George P. Lewis



INDIAN FARERS ON THE SEA

Among the Boro Budur sculptures a most spirited rendering of a ship—two-masted, square-sailed, and evidently of large capacity—gives a glimpse of how communications were kept up between India and Java.
From Havell, 'Indian Sculpture and Painting'

with a great retinue of disciples on one of those campaigns of propaganda which Hindu historians invest with all the glamor of medieval knight-errantry, to challenge any opponents to meet him in the intellectual arena. Possibly if the Buddha and Sankaracharya could have met in argument these two great exponents of Hindu thought would have found a way of mutual reconciliation. But the Buddhist philosophy of the ninth century A.D. could not resist the attack of Sankaracharya's keen logic, and one after another of its acknowledged champions retired discomfited. When his mission was ended he retired to Kedarnath, one of the Himalayan retreats dedicated to Siva, so that he might on this hallowed ground reach the goal of every Hindu devotee—"moksha" or "mukti," release from the law of rebirth.

Outside the religious orders the line of demarcation between the numerous Hindu sects is now so difficult to draw that the British census officials have given up the attempt to classify them statistically. But the sectarian categories, Saiva, Vaishnava and Sakta, indicate summarily the three principal schools of metaphysics which evolved from the Hindu philosophical laboratory. The Saivas and Vaishnavas, whose philosophy adopted the principle of the fatherhood of God, were sociologically allied to the Indo-Aryan patriarchal system. The Saktas, who worship the Supreme Being as the universal mother, derive from the Dravidian or non-Aryan social organizations of the primitive matriarchal type which Hinduism adapted to the philosophical synthesis of the Upanishads.

It is frequently assumed, without justification, that the caste system and the absorption of the intelligentsia in metaphysical studies made Hindu India indifferent to scientific pursuits and unenterprising in worldly affairs. But Hindu philosophy only made religion the supreme concern of life; its social system, embracing all sorts and conditions of men, gave full scope to every kind of activity, though it put duty to society higher than individual freedom.

Caste rules paid the deepest respect

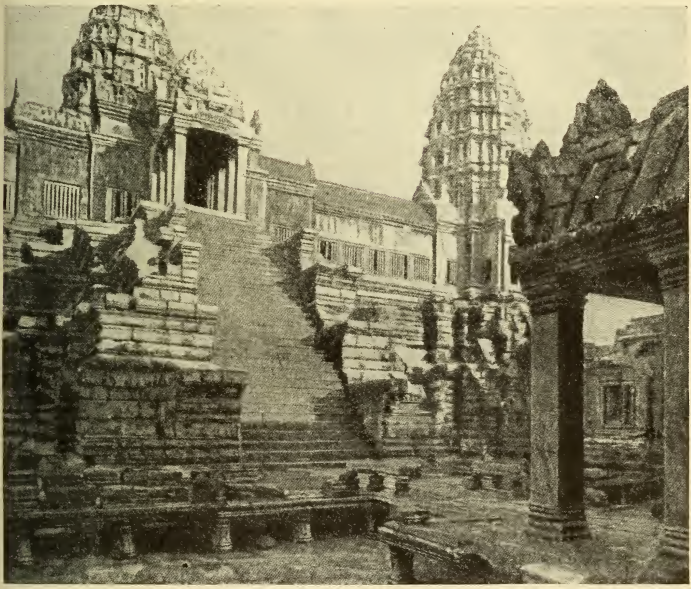
BUDDHIST BELIEFS RECOUNTED IN SCULPTURED STONE

Boro Budur, in Java, consists of seven terraces (not counting the foundation platform), of which the four lowermost are square, the rest circular. Crowning the whole is a great stupa, or relic shrine. On the circular terraces are hundreds of miniature stupas containing statues of the Buddha; round the square ones run those reliefs that are the glory of the place. On this, the uppermost of the four, the sculptures relate to the Dhyani-Buddhas, or celestial counterparts of the earthly Buddhas.
Photo, George P. Lewis

to religion and to learning, but did not require a Brahman to forget his duty to society at large. Provided that he never neglected the study of the Vedas—for an illiterate Brahman placed himself on a level with the out-caste—he might be a statesman, soldier or lawyer. The Code of Manu expressly mentions farming and trade as lawful though not desirable occupations for Brahmans. In the service of religion Brahmans might be, and frequently were, astronomers, mathematicians, architects, engineers and artists. In fact, any career was open to them which did not involve loss of self-respect by contact with impurity.

The era of Hindu political supremacy which reached its climax in the period under review was characterized by intense activity in science, art and commercial enterprise. Hindu India was leading the world in astronomy and mathematics. Much of the mathematical and scientific knowledge which Arabian scholars in later times brought to Europe was borrowed by them from classical Sanskrit treatises. Among the symbols and methods they took from Hindu mathematics were the so-called Arabic numerals, the decimal system of notation, and the sines and versed sines. Algebra was a Hindu rather than an Arabian science.

It was not merely the richness of her natural resources that made India the world's mart. It was in a great measure due to the skill and inventions of her artisans; the enterprise and ingenuity of her shipwrights; the perfection attained



HINDUISM'S MAGNIFICENT MEMORIAL IN CAMBODIA

Set in the heart of the Cambodian jungle, the vast buildings of Angkor speak volumes of the energy and genius of the Indian immigrants—the Khmers—who are believed to have been responsible for their erection. Their date is variously given between the ninth and twelfth centuries of our era. Above is the 'Stair of Honor' of the great temple—originally dedicated to Brahma but later to Buddhism—at Angkor Vat.

in the chemistry and technique of dyeing, weaving and metal working; the organization of industry and the great irrigation works which assisted agriculture. India at the height of Hindu supremacy became the greatest maritime and colonial power of the world. Her seamen in the Indian Ocean were what the Phoenicians had been in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, and the seaways of India and China bore a very large traffic of merchants and pilgrims.

There was a line of communications connecting India and Ceylon with the colonies in Sumatra, Java, Cambodia and the Far East, so that voyages of fifty days or longer were not uncommon. The maritime kingdoms of India possessed fleets so large that thousands of fighting men, artificers and followers could be transported overseas.

The result of this was that, in the troublous times when Hinduism was fighting to repel the foreign invaders and engaged in frequent internal wars, powerful Buddhist and Hindu dynasties were established in Java and Cambodia, where the magnificent monuments of Boro Budur, Prambanam and Angkor Thom testify to the amazing energy and genius of Indian city builders. For many centuries the magnificent temples were exposed to the ravages of Time and Nature, but of late years they have been carefully preserved and restored by the Dutch or French authorities.

It should be remembered that the unadaptability of caste rules and the mental inertia of the masses which are characteristic of modern Hinduism are largely the product of modern conditions and of the political chaos caused by the fierce conflict for its existence which the Hindu state waged for many centuries against the military power of Islam. Under Hindu political supremacy there was an active co-operation between all classes of society for the common good which found expression in the rich flowering of Indian art and craft, in beneficent public works, in splendid monuments of art and in scientific investigations. Co-operation made caste not a hindrance but a very potent instrument of progress in India's intellectual and economic life.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XVI

A.D.
741 Charles Martel succeeded by Pepin and Carloman.
Emperor Leo III succeeded by Constantine V (Copronymus).
742 Birth of Charles the Great (Charlemagne).
744 Accession of Merwan II, last Ommiad khalif.
747 Carloman abdicates. Pepin sole duke of Franks.
750 Ommiad Khalifate ended by battle of Zab.
First Abbasid khalif, Abdallah (Al-Saffah).
Massacre of Ommiads; Abd er-Rahman escapes.
India: Sindh revolts and expels the Arabs.
752 Pepin first Carolingian king of the Franks.
753 Iconoclast Council of Constantinople.
754 Pepin's first Lombard campaign.
Mansur second Abbasid khalif. Capital transferred from Damascus to Bagdad.
755 First Bulgar War of Constantine Copronymus.
755-6 Pepin's second Lombard campaign.
756 Abd er-Rahman (Ommiad) established as independent emir at Cordova (see 750).
759 Pepin expels Saracens from Narbonne and drives them behind the Pyrenees.
761 Constantine begins persecution of the monks.
764 Second Bulgar War of Constantine.
768 Pepin dies. Charles (Charlemagne) and Carloman joint kings of the Franks.
769 Aquitaine finally subjected to the crown.
771 Charlemagne sole king of Franks.
772 First expedition to Saxony.
Pope Stephen appeals to Charlemagne against Desiderius of Lombardy.
773 Lombard campaign of Charlemagne.
774 Submission of Desiderius. Charlemagne annexes the Lombard crown.
775 Charlemagne's first Saxon campaign.
776 Charlemagne's second Saxon campaign.
777 Charlemagne celebrates subjugation of Saxony at the Diet of Paderborn.
778 Charlemagne, invited by Moorish rebels, invades Spain and retires. Fall of Roland at Roncesvalles.
779 Saxon revolt; third Saxon campaign.
780 Constantine VI succeeds Leo IV.
783-5 Conquest and submission of Saxony.
784 Saracens extort tribute from Irene.
785 Advance of Franks in N.E. Spain (Catalonia).
786 Haroun al-Raschid khalif.
787 First Danish raid on English coast.
788 Dukedom of Bavaria broken up.
Hisham succeeds Abd er-Rahman as emir.
789 Charlemagne subjugates northern Slavs.
790 Charlemagne's Avar campaign.
Constantine seizes control by a coup d'état.
795 Progress of Frank arms in Catalonia.
Leo III pope, to 816.
796 Victories of Pepin over the Avars.
797 Irene deposes and blinds Constantine, and herself reigns as empress till 802.
799 First Danish raid on coast of Aquitaine.
800 Pope Leo in S. Peter's crowns Charlemagne Roman emperor. Inauguration of the Holy Roman Empire.
801 Barcelona taken from the Spanish Moors.
802 Irene deposed; Nicephorus Eastern emperor.
Egbert king of Wessex (to 839).
803 Haroun destroys the Barmecide family.
805 Tunis independent under Aglabid dynasty.
Submission of the Avars. They are left dependent and tributary.

A.D.
807 Hakim emir at Cordova.
808 Godred the Dane harries Frisia.
809 Haroun al-Raschid dies. Emin khalif.
810 Godred killed. Truce with the Danes.
812 Hakim cedes conquests between the Pyrenees and the Ebro; Moors evacuate Catalonia.
814 Death of Charlemagne. His only surviving son, Louis the Pious, emperor.
817 Partition of Aachen: Lothair co-emperor and king of Italy, Pepin king of Aquitaine, Lewis (the German) king of Bavaria.
818 Revolt and death of Bernard of Italy.
821 Abd er-Rahman II succeeds Hakim.
822 Danish attacks on Frisia renewed.
Birth of Charles (the Bald).
823 Battle of Ellandune transfers ascendancy in England from Mercia to Wessex.
Crete captured by Saracen corsairs.
827 Saracens of Tunis invade Sicily and begin the conquest.
829 Egbert acknowledged over-king of England.
Theophilus succeeds Michael II.
Louis proposes to provide a kingdom for the child Charles at the expense of his brothers. Beginning of civil wars.
831 Mamun invades Cappadocia. Beginning of a prolonged war between Empire and Khalifate.
Slow but continuous progress of the Aglabid conquest of Sicily (till 859).
833 Mutassen succeeds Mamun at Bagdad.
835 Danes sack Utrecht.
839 Ethelwulf succeeds Egbert as over-king.
840 Death of Louis the Pious. Lothair emperor.
841 Defeat of Lothair at Fontenay by Lewis the German and Charles the Bald.
Danes plunder Rouen.
Mutassem dies; Wathek khalif.
842 The bi-lingual Oath of Strasburg.
Saracens in Sicily capture Messina.
843 Western Empire: Partition of Verdun. Lothair (emperor) takes Middle Kingdom, with Italy; Lewis the Trans-Rhenish territories; Charles the Bald (first king of France) the West.
844 Pictish and Scots kingdoms united under Kenneth McAlpine.
845 Lewis, son of Lothair, king of Italy.
Danes plunder Paris and are bought off.
847 Danes capture and occupy Bordeaux.
Leo IV pope, to 855.
Mutawakkil succeeds Wathek as khalif.
849 Pope Leo's victory over Saracens (Ostia).
Alfred the Great born.
852 Mahommed succeeds Abd er-Rahman II.
855 Lothair dies. His son Lewis II emperor; Trans-Alpine Middle Kingdom divided between his brothers Lothair and Charles.
Danes winter in Sheppey.
857 Michael deposes Ignatius and makes Photius patriarch; denounced by Pope Benedict III.
858 Nicholas I pope.
860 Ethelbert king of England. Many Danish raids.
861 Conversion of Bulgars to Christianity.
866 Ethelred k. of England. Danish invasion begins.
Synod of Constantinople condemns the Heresies of the Latin church. Permanent severance of the Greek and Latin churches.
867 Murder of Michael. Basil first emperor of Macedonian dynasty.

Chronicle XVI

EMERGING OF THE NATIONS: 732—867

In the year A.D. 732 Charles Martel's great victory at Poitiers set the seal upon Leo's achievement fourteen years earlier at Constantinople. Leo and Charles between them had fixed the limit to the westward expansion of Islam for more than six centuries to come, just one hundred years after the death of the Prophet. Europe belonged to the West, Asia and Africa to the East; but the West still kept its hold on Asia Minor, while the East had laid its grip on the most western peninsula of Europe.

Dominion Remaining to the Cæsars

Constantinople still enjoyed the prestige of the empire of the Cæsars; for the oriental, the City of Constantine was "Rome"; but its face was turned not to the West but to the East. Asia Minor formed the larger part of its dominion. In Europe the Danube had long ceased to be its northern boundary; the interior of the Balkan peninsula had passed into the occupation of the tribes which had flooded over the Danube since the departure of the Goths, mixed Bulgars and Slavs in Mœsia and Slavs on the middle Danube. A Bulgarian kingdom with only the most shadowy subordination to the Empire was already established, and a Serbian kingdom was shaping. In Italy there was still an imperial exarch at Ravenna; there were imperial governors in Sicily and Calabria; the Papacy made a certain profession of loyalty to the Empire, as a protection to itself from Lombard aggression.

Italy was, in fact, ruled by the Lombards; but it was only in the Lombard Plain that they formed a substantial portion of the population. And the Lombard kings, unless they happened to be men of exceptional ability, could exercise very little control over the Lombard dukes.

Territories Under Frank Dominion

The rest of what had been the Roman Empire on the European continent, together with much that had never been included therein, was now absorbed in the Frank dominion, of which the eastern limit was not the Rhine but the Elbe. East and north of the German dominion of the Franks, other non-German peoples had come or were coming into ken. The Northmen of Denmark, Sweden and Norway were on the point of taking to the sea as piratical rovers, and of repeating the excursions of the Goths towards the Black Sea, overland. Letts and Wends and non-Aryans of Finnish stock occupied the southern and eastern shores of the Baltic, and were pushing southward through the multitudinous Slavonic tribes; the khan of the Mongol Avars was still lord of what we now call Hungary.

Dynastic Struggle in Islam

Islam was threatened with disintegration. In the east Hisham, the Ommiad khalif who was reigning in 732, had the skill to play off the discordant elements against each other, postponing the evil day; though before his death in 743 Africa was in revolt, and in Spain the factions were in almost ceaseless conflict. A severance between eastern and western Islam was, in any case, made all but inevitable by geographical conditions; when it did come, it had the curious effect of restoring the Ommiad in the west because he had been dethroned in the east.

When Hisham died, the crafty brothers of the house of Abbas had for years past been intriguing secretly on the hypothesis that they were the true representatives of the Prophet's family, since in Arab practice the brother succeeded, not the daughter; and it was in the name of the Abbasids that Abu Muslim in 747 revolted in Khorassan and drove out the Ommiad governor. The Abbasids pushed aside the Fatimids; in 750, in a fierce battle on the Zab, they routed the Ommiad army. The khalif escaped to Egypt, where he was killed. Incidentally, the dynastic struggle enabled the Hindus of Sindh permanently to expel their Mahomedan rulers and garrisons.

Foundation of the Abbasid Dynasty

Abdallah Abul-Abbas, the first khalif of the Abbasid dynasty, which was not extinguished till many centuries had

passed, enjoyed a reign of four years (750-754), in which he thoroughly justified the name by which he was popularly known, al-Saffah, "the butcher." He removed such members of the house of Ali and such of their supporters as seemed likely to be troublesome; by a treacherous device he extirpated the entire Ommiad family, with the exception of one, Abd er-Rahman, who escaped to find his way to the far west after many adventures; and when the adherents of either of the rival houses, the Ommiads or the family of Ali, broke into rebellion, they were repressed with appropriate mercilessness.

The Abbasids owed their throne to Abu Muslim, the governor of Khorassan. When al-Saffah died, his brothers fought each other for the succession. In that contest the victor Mansur owed his success to the decisive intervention of Abu Muslim, who, fanatically devoted to the common cause of the Hashimites, the house of the Prophet, had hesitated between the Abbas and the Ali branches. Abu Muslim was loyal; but the king-maker was distrusted by the king, and Mansur was no sooner firmly established than Abu Muslim was assassinated. The new khalif was as merciless and as treacherous as his brother had been. He found those qualities useful.

EMPRESS IRENE

Throughout her regency for her son and her own reign (797-803) Irene was an ardent anti-iconoclast. The Empire suffered under her misrule.

British Museum

The establishment of the Abbasids meant much more than a mere change of dynasty. The center of the forces which had effected the dynastic revolution was in the east, and to the east Mansur transferred its political center. The seat of the Khalifate was removed by him from Damascus to Bagdad, the dominating influence in Asiatic Mahomedanism becoming no longer Arabic but Persian.

Mansur's Reforms and Achievements

For two other features of the new order Mansur was personally responsible; the creations of a mercenary bodyguard, and of the wazirate—of troops whose allegiance was directly to the person of the khalif, drawn from sources untouched by Arab factions, and of a minister in complete charge of the details of administration but directly responsible to the khalif. The wazir of a strong khalif was very really his servant; a weak khalif's wazir was not unlikely to be no less really his master.

When Abd er-Rahman escaped from the massacre of the Ommiads, al-Saffah presented to the western rebels a leader who could claim to stand for the legitimate line against a usurper. Abd er-Rahman was able in a short time to rally the rebels to his own standard as no one who had risen as a faction leader could do; two years after Mansur became khalif he was reigning as emir at Cordova (756-787), and declared the political independence of Africa and Spain without as yet assuming a separate religious headship.

Under the influence of the Persian temperament in the Bagdad Khalifate there was a rapid development of speculative activity in the intellectual and religious fields which was quite alien to the Arab, and sects or schools multiplied correspondingly; at the same time commercial enterprise was greatly stimulated; and Bagdad became a center of wealth, luxury and intellectual activity far in advance, for a time at least, of any city of the Europeans. The famous Haroun al-Raschid succeeded to the Khalifate in 786.

Haroun al-Raschid's Glorious Reign

The court of Haroun, the "Just" or the "Orthodox," was no doubt a brilliant center of culture and enlightenment, and his title was fairly earned by the general administration, which was left entirely in the hands of the Barmecide family, the famous wazir Jafar and his brothers, to whose father, Yahya, Haroun was largely indebted for the peacefulness of his own accession. Haroun, when his will was not crossed or his suspicions aroused, was the incarnation of careless benevolence; but he was equally capable on occasion of cold-blooded cruelty and treachery; as was

In the eighth-ninth century the supreme historical event in Europe is the substitution of the Holy Roman for the Eastern Roman Empire as the predominant power; as established by Charlemagne it comprised Gallo-Latin Neustria, Teutonic Austrasia and Lombard Italy. In the Iberian Peninsula the Ommiad emirate was set up by Abd-er-Rahman. In the Near East, Bulgarian and Serbian kingdoms were coming into existence.

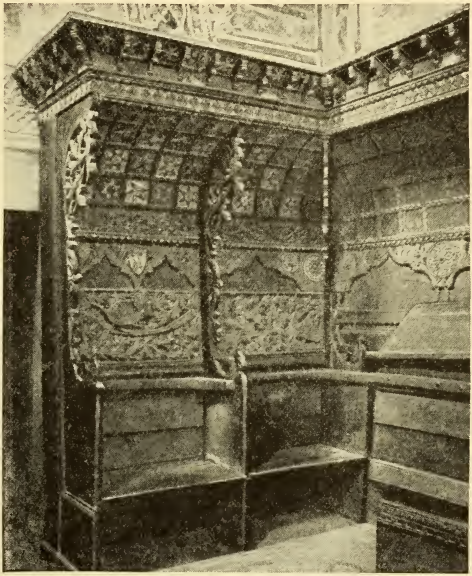
In England the salient facts are the restriction of the Britons within an ever more limited area in the West, and the transference of supremacy from Northumbria to Mercia and, after 800, to Wessex under Egbert. The period of peace inaugurated by his success was broken by incursions of the Danes resulting, after 878, in the establishment of the Danelaw as an independent region.

STAGES IN THE MAKING OF MODERN EUROPE AND OF ENGLAND

exemplified in his slaughter of the entire Barmecide family, against whom his mind had become poisoned, in 803.

The temporary disappearance of the wazirate led to a grievious falling off in the administration. Haroun at his death parted his dominion among his sons, while appropriating the Khalifate proper, with its religious supremacy, to the eldest, Emin. Some years before Haroun's death, Ibrahim ibn Aglabi had established another independent principality ruled by the Aglabid dynasty at Tunis. Even in that reign of splendor the area of the Khalif's effective authority was contracted. Haroun made successful campaigns in Asia Minor, but they were no more than raids.

Leo III at Constantinople was an administrator of high ability; after 732 he recognized that Italy was out of reach, but in the East he was able to enforce his iconoclastic principles on reluctant Europeans and approving Asiatics. Prosperity revived, and prestige was strengthened by a victory, won under his personal command, at Acroinon, over a large invading army which Hisham sent over the Taurus. In 741 he was succeeded by his son Constantine V, opprobriously nicknamed Copronymus by his detractors (741-775).



CARVEN STALLS OF LOMBARD KINGS

Cividale del Friuli is rich in relics of the early Lombard kings, who were a constant menace to the Papacy—for example, these royal stalls in the cathedral. The final outcome of the quarrel between Liutprand (712-43) and Pope Gregory III was the absorption of the Lombard kingdom into the Frank monarchy.

NICEPHORUS I AND MICHAEL I

By a coup d'état in 802 Nicephorus (left) secured the removal of the empress Irene and reigned until 811, when he was succeeded by his son-in-law, Michael Rhangabe. The latter was an undistinguished, ineffective ruler.

British Museum

Constantine's rule was vigorous and active; judged by results it was successful.

But he left an ill name and an ugly nickname because where his father had been a puritan he was a zealot. Not satisfied with imposing public conformity, he searched out and penalized those who continued to practice "image worship" in private, instituted a harsh religious persecution, and then embarked on a campaign against monks and monasticism which was shocking to all but the extremists of his own party.

The same policy, though with a degree

less of brutality and intolerance, was pursued by his son Leo IV (775-780), who also in the course of his brief reign fought two successful campaigns with the khalif Mahdi. But when he died, leaving a ten-year-old son, Constantine VI, the power passed into the hands of his widow, the empress Irene, an ambitious woman who had hitherto concealed the fact that she was herself a zealous "iconodule."

For ten years the dowager empress reigned in her son's name. Beginning by relaxing the measures against image worshipers, she went on to dismiss iconoclast officials civil and ecclesiastic, and to set iconodules in their places. A plot was formed against her in favor of one of the late emperor's brothers, but it was discovered, and its only effect was that all the young emperor's uncles were forced to enter religion. The imperial guard mutinied, but was suppressed.

FOUNDER OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Wearing the long mantle of the Franks and the royal crown, and bearing in one hand the sword and in the other the orb, this statue represents one of the Carolingian monarchs, most probably Charlemagne. As Frankish king and Roman Emperor he dominated Europe for more than forty years.

Musée Carnavalet; photo, Archives photographiques

But while Irene was carrying through her reversal of ecclesiastical policy the Slavs broke out in Thrace and the khalif's armies raided Asia Minor from end to end with impunity, so that they had to be ignominiously bought off. So in 790 Constantine, chafing at being still kept in tutelage, effected a coupe d'état, took the reins into his own hands, and began to display signs of salutary vigor. But he again allowed his mother a freedom and a degree of authority of which she took advantage to effect a counter-coup d'état on her own account (797), seize her son, depose him, put out his eyes, shut him up in a monastery and—a thing for which there was no precedent—assume for herself the imperial diadem.

For five unhappy years (797-802) Irene was empress and Haroun's raiders again overran Asia Minor and again had to be bought off by the promise of a heavy tribute. The domestic government was in the hands of pernicious favorites whose scandalous misrule was diversified only by the scandal of their private differences. The situation was so intolerable that in 802 the treasurer, Nicephorus, effected yet another coup d'état; Irene was seized in the mid-

dle of the night, carried off to a convent and forced to take the veil; and without further disturbance Nicephorus (802-811) was accepted as emperor.

The new emperor enjoyed no personal prestige. After nine years he fell in a Bulgarian campaign, when the succession was secured by the incompetent Michael Rhangabe, his Greek son-in-law—the first of that race to assume the diadem of an emperor.

Frank Empire Under Charles Martel

THE Frank empire, though without an official emperor, dominated the entire west of Europe. Charles Martel ruled the Franks for nine years after his triumph at Poitiers. In the course of them the shadow-king Theudebert died. Charles neither found a shadow-heir for him nor himself assumed the crown; but he went on ruling as mayor of a non-existent palace or as "duke" of the Franks. The Moors made incursions from Spain and excursions from Narbonne, which they still held; he fought them and beat them and penned them into a narrow area, though it was not till he was dead that they were finally cleared out and driven for ever beyond the Pyrenees. Aquitaine was still semi-independent; the Saxons on the north-east required chastisement, and the outlying provinces were restive; but everywhere Charles conducted affairs so as to leave no doubt that he was the master.

He maintained friendly relations with both Liutprand and Gregory III in Italy, and when the pope chose to quarrel with the Lombard he declined to intervene in his favor.

In 741 Charles, though uncrowned, was undoubtedly the most powerful of living potentates, the equal at least of Leo at Constantinople (who died in the same year), while the Ommiad dynasty was tottering. When he died, the Franks accepted the authority of his two legitimate sons, Pepin the Short and Carloman, as mayors of Neustria and Austrasia respectively. Pepin (741-768) ruled jointly and in perfect harmony with his brother till the latter elected to retire from the world to the religious life in 747. For four years he ruled alone as mayor, with the puppet Merwing king Childeric, whom he and Carloman had found and set on the throne in order to regularize their own position in 742. In 751, with universal approval and the express warrant of the pope Zacharias, he invited the acquiescent dummy to enter religion, and was himself crowned king of the Franks.

For seventeen years Pepin was consolidating and extending his power. Within the dominion he established his authority over recalcitrant nobles and tribes, not without trouble; punitory expeditions compelled the Saxons on the

SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL POWER

On Christmas Day in the year 800 Charlemagne was crowned in St. Peter's by Pope Leo III and proclaimed Emperor of the Romans. The momentous event is alluded to in this mosaic depicting pope and emperor at St. Peter's feet.

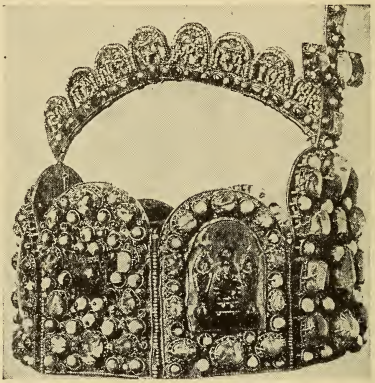
Piazza S. Giovanni, Rome; photo, Anderson

north-east to pay tribute; he cleared the Moors out of Narbonne and drove the last of them across the Pyrenees; and he did what no Frankish ruler had done before him—he made himself the arbiter of Italy by taking the field as the protector of the Papacy when Pope Stephen appealed to him against the aggression of the Lombard Aistalf.

Pepin responded handsomely. A campaign in 754 quickly reduced Aistulf to sue for terms. He did homage to Pepin as overlord, and promised to restore the

cities he had seized. Pepin withdrew to avenge on the Frisians the martyrdom of Boniface, which had just taken place. Aistulf neglected to fulfil his promises, and in 755 marched on Rome. This brought down Pepin on him again; and this time he was forced to hand over to the pope practically the whole of what had been the exarchate of Ravenna and thenceforth became the States of the Church. When Aistulf died, the new king of the Lombards, Desiderius, did not again challenge the old king of the Franks.

Pepin, on his death in 768, left his realm divided between his two sons, in accordance with the immemorial custom of the Frank monarchy. By the death of the younger, Carloman, in 771 the elder, Charles the Great, became sole king of all the Franks. The whole reign of Charles covered forty-six years (768-814); for the last fourteen of them he was not merely king of the Franks but Roman Emperor of the West. In those years he changed the basis of the whole European system by the double process of conquest and organization.



REPUTED CROWN OF CHARLEMAGNE

This imperial crown, preserved at Vienna, is composed of eight plates of gold, four embellished with enameled figures and four studded with jewels. From a jeweled cross in front an arch extends to the hindermost plaque.

Charlemagne Begins His Victorious Reign

It is unnecessary to devote a great amount of space to the process of conquest. Aquitaine had made its last futile effort to break away before Carloman was dead. In 772 Charles made his first move towards the subjection of Saxony, which gave him constant occupation for thirteen years and at intervals for nineteen years more. He had already imposed on the Saxons generally a formal submission when a quarrel between Pope Hadrian and the Lombard king Desiderius as to the right to certain cities provided him with an excuse for interfering in Italy in answer to the pope's appeal.

Charles crossed the Alps, not as an arbiter but actually as a partisan, for the elements of a serious quarrel with Desiderius were already there; since the Frank had married the Lombard's daughter and then repudiated her within the year, and the Lombard was giving asylum to the widow of Carloman and his young son who had been passed over. Charles ordered Desiderius to hand over the cities which the pope claimed as being part of the Ravenna exarchate; Desiderius was defiant. In 773 Charles descended on Lombardy, shut Desiderius up in Pavia, and starved him into surrender next year, when he was sent to pass the rest of his life in a monastery. Instead of setting up a new Lombard vassal-king, Charles proclaimed himself king of the Franks and Lombards. The Lombard kingdom survived, but as an appanage of the Frank crown. The duchy of Benevento however, succeeded in maintaining practical independence.

Meanwhile Saxony revolted. A great campaign compelled it to temporary submission. Then Lombard dukes revolted, and required to be brought to book; whereon Saxony again rushed to arms, in vain. In 777 Charles celebrated the incorporation of Saxony at a great diet held at Paderborn.

In 778 Charles invaded Spain, invited thither by Moors who were defying Abd er-Rahman at Cordova. He got temporary possession of Barcelona, but failed

to capture Saragossa, and when he retired through the Pyrenees his rear-guard was cut up in the pass of Roncesvalles. There fell the valiant captain Roland, of whom practically nothing else is historically known, though he became the foremost figure in the later traditions which gathered about the Paladins of Charlemagne.

Saxons Submit to Frank Supremacy

He returned to Aquitaine to learn that the Saxons were up in arms again. By 780 he had them once more in apparent subjection. They were Christianized in thousands by baptism, and their Christianity was emphasized by merciless punishment for lapses. In despair they blazed out again in 782. As always when Charles appeared in person, they were crushed into submission; they surrendered more than four thousand persons of rank who had incited them to rebellion; and the prisoners were slaughtered in cold blood. Thereupon the whole Saxon folk flung themselves into a life-and-death struggle, the end of which was a foregone conclusion. In 785 Witikind, their most indomitable leader, came in upon promise of his life. Though there were sporadic insurrections for nearly twenty years more, this was their last great struggle against the Frank supremacy.

Meanwhile, the ineffectiveness of the Spanish raid in 778 had been demonstrated. The Moors had reverted to their allegiance to Abd er-Rahman. In 785 began the long Spanish war, the conduct of which was entrusted to the king's third son, whom later ages know as Louis the Pious or the Debonnaire, with William of Toulouse to guide him. The task fell upon Louis, because Charlemagne had made him viceroy with the royal title in Aquitaine. The second son, Pepin, held a similar position in Lombardy, and the eldest, Charles, in Neustria north of Aquitaine. The conquest of Catalonia was a gradual process; but by 812 the third Cordovan emir, el-Hakim, was driven to a formal cession of the territory between the Pyrenees and the Ebro, which the Saracens evacuated completely.

Beyond the Elbe and the German borderland, Charles was able, with very little fighting, to impose allegiance, obedience and tribute on the Slavonic tribes, who also embraced Christianity with no apparent reluctance; the more northern group by a campaign in 789, the Bohemians in 806. Charles left the subjugation of the Avars in Hungary to his son Pepin. A vast spoil, accumulated in the days of their past power, was taken; and in 805 they were reduced to making complete submission.

LOUIS LE DEBONNAIRE: A WEAKLING EMPEROR

Charlemagne was succeeded in 812 by his only surviving son, Louis. His sobriquets "the Debonnaire" and "the Pious" indicate the weakness of character that brought nothing but trouble upon the Empire. This miniature portrays him in Roman "chlamys" and wearing the closed Byzantine crown.

From a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale

The conquests of Charlemagne, however, did not reach the Danes and Northmen, of whose daring exploits not only on the seas but far up the rivers we hear first in his reign. The conqueror's approach in Saxony alarmed Godred, the king of Jutland; he gave harborage to the Saxon Witikind, fortified the neck of the peninsula from the Baltic to the North Sea against attack by land, having no qualms about his security by sea, and, feeling himself satisfactorily out of reach, began in 808 to harry the Frisian coast and the southern shores of the Baltic, almost with impunity, for two years. Doubtless he would have felt the full weight of Charlemagne's hand had he not been slain by his own folk in 810, when his successor hastened to make peace. But the era of the Vikings had

CAROLINGIAN JEWEL OF THE NINTH CENTURY: THE "CRYSTAL OF LOTHAIR"

This remarkable crystal disk, engraved with episodes from the story of Susanna, may have been intended for the morse or clasp of a cope. The inscription over the central medallion records its having been made to the order of Lothair, King of the Franks, probably, therefore, the son of the emperor Lothair, and from 855 to 869 king of the district later known as Lorraine. After being in the possession of the Abbey of Waulsort on the Meuse for eight hundred years it disappeared, but was recovered from the bed of the Meuse in the nineteenth century.

Bernal Collection, British Museum

opened. The long-ships of the northern rovers had already found their piratical way to the coasts of England, of Ireland and of Aquitaine, though they were no subjects of Godred or any other overlord, but free war-chiefs.

Creation of the Holy Roman Empire

It was not, however, simply as king of the Franks, or of the Franks and Lombards, that Charles the Great carried through the conquests of his later years; or as Roman Patrician, a title he had claimed, like Odoacer three centuries before him, when he annexed the Lombard crown. In 800 Pope Leo III fled from the bitter enemies in Rome who had proved too strong for him to Charlemagne in Saxony. Charles sent him back to Rome with an escort that none durst challenge, and himself followed late in the year, to inquire into the charges that had been leveled by or against the pope.

The result of the investigation was a complete vindication for Leo and the utter condemnation of his enemies. On Christmas day, at the conclusion of the service held in S. Peter's to celebrate the holy day, as the unconscious king knelt before the high altar, Leo, moved, as he declared, by a sudden inspiration, set a crown upon his head, and proclaimed him Augustus, Emperor of the Romans, crowned by God. The words were taken up with a universal shout. The Holy Roman Empire had sprung into being.

The character of Charlemagne's empire, for which he was responsible only insofar as he had extended its borders, and its organization, which was derived from the past but shaped by his genius, determined the medieval system or feudal monarchy. As Pepin the Short left the Frankish kingdom, it was in form an absolute monarchy. The king was aided by a council, the men on whom he chose to rely, for the most part lay or ecclesiastical governors of the districts into which the great dominion was divided for administrative purposes—dukes, counts, margraves of the marches or border districts, bishops, abbots. Occasionally, when some matter of supreme national concern was on hand, such as the change of dynasty which made Pepin king of the Franks, a general assembly was held to ensure the general approbation.

The counts and dukes were appointed or removed at the king's will; but, as a matter of course, they were men of great estates which they enjoyed by hereditary right, so that in practice their official rank tended also to become hereditary, and to be claimed as of right; but such magnates were always liable to be dispossessed at the king's will, as in the case of the dukes of Aquitaine and Swabia. At the same time, by immemorial Frank tradition, hereditary right descended not by primogeniture but by partition of the estate among the sons.

The germs of the later struggle between Papacy and Empire lay in the method of Charlemagne's coronation, though probably the possibility of it never entered his mind. As the champion of justice, he had used his power to reinstate Leo at Rome; the pope had merely given expression to universal sentiment in the West when he took upon himself almost to force on his champion, the actual master of the West, the assumption of the title and authority of Roman Emperor. That did not give the pope an authority over him, which no pope had ever claimed over any Roman Emperor.

But it did not prevent later popes from claiming that the spiritual head of Christendom had the right of conferring, and had in actual fact conferred the imperial authority upon the emperor of his choice. Charles however never dreamed of regarding himself as responsible to the pope, though he regarded the pope as having become responsible to him, as he had not been to the king of the Franks. While Charles lived no one would have ventured to hint at the possibility of such a question being raised.

The great emperor died at Aachen, his favorite residence, in 814, the seventy-second year of his life and the forty-sixth of his reign. He was succeeded by his only surviving son, Louis, though his grandson Bernard the son of Pepin was already reigning with the royal title in Lombardy. Louis had shown a reasonable competence in his vice-royalty of Aquitaine and the Spanish march, but he was completely unfitted for the higher responsibilities that were now laid upon him. The most blameless and humble-minded of men, he was altogether in the hands of a scheming wife and of the

priests whom his piety taught him to trust implicitly.

Disastrous Weaknesses of Louis

THE results were disastrous. He sanctioned rather than committed the one conscious crime of his life when he put to death his nephew Bernard, who had come to him under a safe-conduct after taking up arms on learning that he was to be deprived of his Lombard kingdom. He dismissed his father's able min-

CHARLES THE BALD

Tunic and chlamys of Roman fashion were items of Carolingian costume as shown in the Bible of Charles the Bald and other illuminated books of the period. Military dress resembled that of the Roman Prætorian Guard.

Bibliothèque Nationale

isters, who fell short of his puritan standards, and reposed his undiscerning confidence only where it was utterly misplaced. He was a fond and foolishly forgiving father to sons who repaid him with brutal humiliations; and he reserved his warmest affections for the child of his second marriage, so that his many projects on the boy's behalf ended by shattering the loyalty of his most loyal supporters.

Louis began by crowning himself with his own hands, and was then feeble enough to submit dutifully to re-coronation at the hands of a new pope who had been elected without the imperial sanction. Then in accordance with precedent he provided his three sons with kingdoms; for the eldest, Lothair, whom he associated with himself as emperor, Lombardy; for Pepin, Aquitaine; for Lewis, known in consequence as "the German," Bavaria and the eastern marches. Lothair was also to succeed to the rest.

Then the emperor's wife died, and very much against his own will he married again. In 822, most unfortunately, was born to him the son known as Charles the Bald, whence sprang endless troubles. For the doting father was bent on providing the youngest son with a kingdom, which could only be done at the expense of one or more of his half-brothers, none of whom would listen to any such scheme.

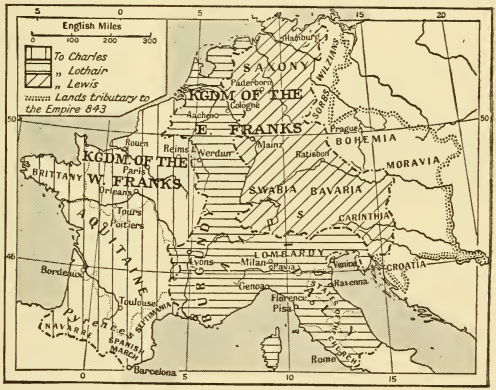
Every proposed partition for the provision of a kingdom for the child Charles produced a revolt of his brothers and a humiliating compromise, followed after an interval by a fresh partition and a fresh revolt. In the first of these civil wars Louis found himself with the rebels at his mercy, and forgave them without taking any security against a repetition of the offense. In the second, when the odds were all in his favor, he chose to negotiate; the negotiations were prolonged while the princes sowed treason among his followers, till the unhappy father found himself deserted and helpless—men called the scene of this shameful performance Lügenfeld, the "field of lies" (833). Louis was deposed; but his outrageous treatment brought about a reaction, and he was restored.

Fresh partitions only brought fresh revolts. The last of them was collapsing when Louis died in 840. Between the three brothers the crash of conflict came next year when Lothair was decisively beaten at the bloody battle of Fontenay. Lewis and Charles made a solemn compact, which they actually kept—the Oath of Strasburg, still more notable because they took it in two languages, the German of the east and the Roman which was on the way to become French of the west. The immediate outcome was the treaty of Verdun (843).

By the Partition of Verdun the unlatinized German east went to Lewis, the

thoroughly Latin Neustria and Aquitaine (the greater part of modern France) to Charles, Italy and the whole wide intervening belt of territory from the Rhône basin to the Belgian coast to the emperor Lothair, including the original Austrasia, Burgundy and Provence, where Latin and German were not so much blended as inextricably entangled. And in this middle kingdom lay both the Frank capital, Aachen, and the capital of the Empire, Rome.

For ten years the brothers kept the peace with each other. Then Charles and Lewis started fighting, Lewis sending support to an insurrection in Aquitaine. In 855 Lothair died and was succeeded by his son the emperor Lewis II, whom he had already made king of Lombardy. But this Lewis was fully occupied with the defense of Italy against the Mediterranean power of the Saracens; his brother Lothair took possession of the northern division of his kingdom beyond the Alps, whence it received the name of Lotharingia (Lorraine). There ensued a chaos of struggles between brothers, uncles, sons and fathers to snatch territory from each other which it is not worth while to disentangle.



THE PARTITION OF VERDUN

By the Treaty of Verdun, made in 843 by the three sons of Louis I, Germany east of the Rhine went to Lewis, Neustria and Aquitaine to Charles the Bald, and the buffer territory between, together with Lombard Italy, to Lothair. France and Germany then for the first time came definitely into being.

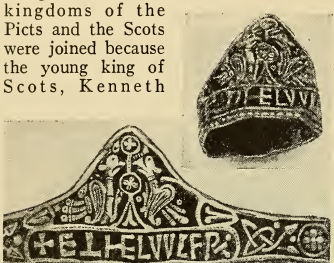
And meanwhile, from the beginning of the civil wars in 829, the Northmen in ever-increasing numbers had been taking advantage of the eternal discord to raid the coasts and sail or row up the rivers, looting or sacking the defenseless towns, and even for a time occupying Bordeaux, though their normal custom was to sail off with their spoils.

ENGLAND, meanwhile, was making progress towards unification. In the middle of the eighth century the preëminence of Northumbria, apart from her monasteries, her Bedes and her Alcuins, was on the wane; the political ascendancy passed to Mercia under the rule of Offa, who compelled most of the other kings to recognize his overlordship, and curbed Welsh raiders by constructing Offa's dyke. But in 825 Egbert of Wessex, who had spent many years of his youth at the court of Charlemagne, broke the Mercian power at Ellandune. By 829 every kingdom south of Humber—for the most part willingly—had acknowledged him as Bretwalda, high king of the English; and from his time dates the claim of the Wessex house of Cerdic to be the royal house of England even to the present day.

Vikings from Norway had already made for themselves a permanent footing in Ireland, but only an occasional raid visited the English coast while Egbert lived. When raiders did come he dealt with them effectively. On his death in 839 the whole land was at peace, and the accession of his pious but not very competent son Ethelwulf was accepted without demur. The defense of the country against the now multiplying attacks of the Danes was mainly the work of the fighting bishop of Sherborne, Eahlstan. They suffered a great defeat at Aclea (Ockley?) in 851;

nevertheless, either in that year or in 855 they wintered for the first time in the Isle of Thanet or of Sheppey, though for some time their further activities were suspended. The great struggle began in the reign of Ethelwulf's second son, Ethelbert, 860-866, and lasted through the reigns of two more brothers in succession, Ethelred and Alfred the Great.

In the far north also unification was brought nearer when in 844 the two Celtic kingdoms of the Picts and the Scots were joined because the young king of Scots, Kenneth McAlpine, was also unexpectedly left the legitimate heir of the Pictish crown under the Pict law of succession.



KING ETHELWULF'S GOLD RING

Son of Egbert and father of King Alfred the Great, Ethelwulf was king of Wessex 839-58. His noted piety is indicated by the early Christian design of two peacocks above the inscription Ethelvvlf Rex on his ring, found at Laverstock.

British Museum

Dissensions in Empire and Khalifate

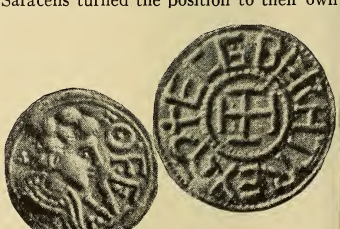
At Constantinople, the incapable Michael Rhangabe, was succeeded in 813 by the soldier Leo V, "the Armenian." Leo's six years of rule did much to counteract the unhappy effects of Irene's reign, and the Bulgars were firmly checked. But he was assassinated in 820. The accession of another soldier, Michael II, "the Amorian," nicknamed the Stammerer, was attended by outbreaks of rebellion, and his nine years' reign was mainly memorable for the capture of Crete and the invasion of Sicily (attached to the Eastern, not the Western, Empire) by the Saracen fleets. Two years after the accession of his son Theophilus (829-842) war was renewed for thirty years between the Empire and the Khalifate.

The reign of Haroun, for all its picturesque splendors, its development of material wealth and its intellectual activities, did not in fact mean that the Khalifate was growing in strength. Even before his death in 809 the Aglabid dynasty had established its independence at Tunis. The Saracen fleets that dominated the Mediterranean were not his fleets; they issued from the ports of Africa or Spain. He left his empire divided between three sons, who were soon fighting for supremacy; in 813 the eldest of the sons, Emin, was killed, and the second, named Mamun, became khalif (813-833).

Sicily Overrun by the Saracens

The Aglabids were incited to their invasion of Sicily by the traitor Euphemius, a disgraced official who hoped by their aid to be made master of the island. From 827 to 831 successes and defeats alternated; but in that year Mamun invaded Cappadocia, and Theophilus was forced to concentrate all his military efforts on the war with the Khalifate—a war in which it proved, in thirty years of fighting, that neither side could gain any permanent advantage over the other.

In 840 in Italy Lombard rivals were fighting for the Benevento dukedom. One invited help from the conquering Saracens in Sicily, the other from the Corsairs of Crete. As matter of course, the Saracens turned the position to their own



COINS OF OFFA AND OF EGBERT

From Northumbria predominance in England passed to Mercia under Offa (left), who ruled that kingdom from 757 to 796. Mercia in turn yielded to Wessex under Egbert (right), who secured the throne in 802 and conquered Mercia in 829.

British Museum

account, fought for their own hand in collusion with each other, and were very soon overrunning and more or less garrisoning all South Italy.

The saviors of Italy were Lewis the son of Lothair and Pope Leo IV. Lewis was made king of Italy and emperor designate in 845, following the Verdun partition; incidentally, on the election of Pope Leo in 847, he reasserted the imperial claim to confirm it. In 849 a great Saracen fleet was completely shattered, partly by storms and partly by the fleet which Leo had made ready, and Rome was delivered from the menace which had threatened her. Lewis imposed a reconciliation and a partition of the duchy of Benevento on the rival dukes, and then devoted himself wholeheartedly to the struggle with the Corsair chief Mofareg, who was well on the way to establishing his own supremacy in the south.

In the east Theophilus fought with Mamun and Mamun's successor Mutassem (833-841) with varying success. On his death in 842 the government passed into the hands of a council of regency on behalf of his infant son, afterwards unhappily known as Michael the Drunkard (842-867). A feeble government at Bagdad, a feeble government at Constantinople, and generals usually inefficient on both sides, kept the war dragging on indecisively.

Warring of the Abbasid Dynasty

At Bagdad the Abbasid Khalifate was by this time markedly on the downward path. Periods of great intellectual activity are apt to have a disintegrating side, and the antagonisms between old beliefs and novel speculations multiplied political dissensions. Large increases in the army of mercenaries were made, while provincial governors, especially in Khorassan, were year by year growing more independent, and the way was being made ready for disruption.

At Constantinople the regency was directed by the young mother of the infant emperor, who was only four years old in 842. Theodora, the empress-dowager, was a fervent image worshiper for whom the religious question dominated all others; she reversed her husband's policy and persecuted the iconoclasts. Administration generally went to pieces. At eighteen, Michael "the drunkard" in 856 set his mother aside and ruled for ten years with his disreputable uncle Bardas, first as counsellor, then as colleague, always as boon companion. Then he had him put out of the way, and set in his place as Cæsar another boon companion but a very hard-headed one, his ex-groom Basil the Macedonian. A twelvemonth later Basil had Michael murdered after a carouse (867), and, being already Cæsar, assumed the diadem without opposition; thus inaugurating the Macedonian dynasty, which reigned at Constantinople for nearly two centuries.

Final Partition of the Churches

In the last year of Michael, the Synod of Constantinople formulated the pronouncement which marked the irrevocable parting of the Church in the East from the Church in the West. It denounced as damnable heresies the Roman doctrines of the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, and of clerical celibacy. In the view of the Western Church, both were fundamental truths. Neither then nor since has success attended any efforts to bridge that impassable chasm. Pope Nicholas I of his own authority, excommunicated the Byzantine patriarch: the Synod gave the imperial reply to papal arrogance; and in doing so made the cleavage permanent.

MEDIEVAL LIFE IN THE WESTERN KINGDOMS

SOCIETY AS REORGANIZED BY CHARLES THE GREAT AND THE LEARNING THAT FLOURISHED AT HIS COURT

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In view of the subsequent history of the Holy Roman Empire, it may be acknowledged that there was something artificial and theatrical about the coronation of Charles the Great. In the year 800, however, the ordinary observer might have been justified in the conclusion that the Empire of the West was revived, and that in no short time the borders of the Frankish Empire might be extended by further conquests.

Over his great domain Charles reigned with an undisputed power, and as the savior of the capital of the ancient world, which still retained the shadow of its republican constitution, he was also the protector of the episcopal see which traced its foundation to the Prince of the Apostles. However artificial his claims to be the successor of the Roman emperors might be from a practical point of view, he was able to give them some reality. At the same time, he was also a national king in spite of his ideals of a theocratic and universal rule. Descended from an Austrasian family, he was himself an Austrasian, speaking a German tongue and ruling from an Austrasian capital or series of capitals; for, wherever the king went, there for the time being were his capital and court.

Aachen, however, was the place which he favored as the metropolis of his kingdom. Here he himself directed the building of a city in which his courtiers recognized a second Rome in the bloom of youth, and here rose the royal palace, an imposing theater and marble structures enclosing the hot baths whose virtues had been known to the subjects of the earlier Empire. The famous church dedicated to the Virgin was the most conspicuous ornament of the city, as befitted the chief residence of the king chosen by God to be the ruler of Christendom; and from this church, in which Charles was eventually buried, the place obtained its name of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The government of Charles was an autocracy in which the king's word was law. In his court there was no great official corresponding to those mayors of the palace from whose stock he himself had sprung, and wielding a power equivalent to that of a king. His ministers of state were the officers of his household, continually engaged in the duties of the palace and entirely subordinate to himself. To these might be delegated military or judicial duties upon occasion, but the responsibilities attached to their titles were primarily domestic. From their number emerge three who have special administrative importance. The count of the palace presided over the royal tribunal as the king's representative. The preparation and issue of official correspondence was under the direction of the chancellor, and another ecclesiastic, the head of the chapel royal, was the chief counsellor of the king.

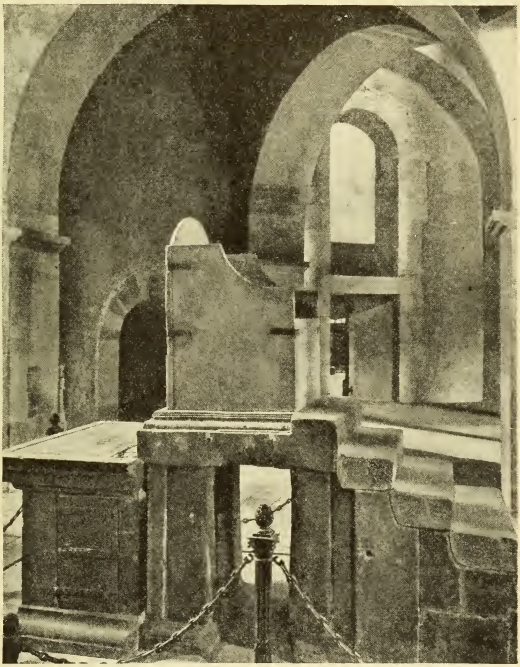
In the prominence thus given to ecclesiastical officials at the court of Charles, the double character of his rule as head of the Church and the State working together in complete co-operation is manifest. Similarly, in the government of the provinces the authority of the two was blended. Under the Merovingian monarchy the cities, the old centers of provincial life before the Frankish conquests, were the nucleus of counties and ecclesiastical dioceses; the count and the bishop exercised parallel temporal and spiritual jurisdictions. This organization was retained and systematized throughout his Empire by Charles. The count was the representative of the monarch in his county, the dispenser of justice who presided over the periodical assemblies of its

freemen, the leader of its forces in time of war, the officer responsible for law and order. The bishop had cognizance of spiritual offences, which gave him some natural advantage over the count, his spiritual son; but the theoretic relation between the two was an alliance in which each exercised surveillance over the other, reporting from time to time to the sovereign.

As for the appointment of the count, this was at the monarch's disposal. Although in theory the right of the clergy and people of the diocese to elect their bishops was recognized, such elections were controlled by representatives of the crown. But while the count and the bishop held their offices—the first actually and the second virtually, by commission from the sovereign—the appointment of subordinates lay in their own power.

FRANKISH administration, by the prominence which it gave to the count and his court, naturally weakened the operation of the smaller local courts of justice, whose origin belongs to a period before the establishment of Merovingian kingship. Further, the subordination of the popular courts and their judges was increased by the growth of private jurisdictions with their own officers, of which the royal domains are the most important example, and by the appointment of local officials for special purposes, whether by the count or by private owners.

While it is obvious that in the long run the multiplication of private jurisdictions involved complications of authority which led to disruption, the firm hand of Charles the Great controlled all the conflicting elements in the dominions subject to his rule. The chief manifestation of his personal relations with his Empire was the general assemblies or



CHARLEMAGNE'S THRONE AT AACHEN

In the minster at Aachen is preserved the marble throne of Charlemagne. Tradition says that when his tomb was opened by Otto III in 1000 A.D. the great emperor's body was disclosed dressed in coronation robes and seated in this chair. For centuries afterwards the chair was used at imperial coronations.

Photo, Neue Photographische Gesellschaft

CHARLEMAGNE'S HOMAGE TO THE VIRGIN MARY

Charlemagne was a great builder, and according to Einhard, his secretary and biographer, the splendor of 'the basilica of the Most Holy Mother of God, constructed with wondrous workmanship at Aquisgranum (Aachen),' was the expression of his Christian devotion. Charlemagne also intended the church to be his mausoleum, and this sculpture from his shrine depicts the emperor dedicating the church to the Virgin Mary.

placita which it was his custom to hold twice a year at various centers.

This "Mayfield" was his opportunity for learning informally the state of his realm. It was, in short, a striking display of patriarchal government by a monarch whose absolute mastery of his realm was maintained in no small degree by a ready exercise of personal attraction.

By the increase of dignity acquired from his coronation as emperor Charles was inspired to establish fresh methods of central control in his dominions. He began to codify the Frankish systems of law with a view to uniformity of usage throughout the Empire, and ordered the unwritten laws of his barbarian subjects to be committed to writing. But his most important measure was the appointment of *missi dominici,* or imperial legates, made systematically for the first time in 802. The object of this measure was to bring the speedy execution of royal justice within reach of his whole people. The realm for this purpose was divided into districts called *missatica,* each comprising several counties and committed to two envoys chosen from the principal magnates of the court. Once a year, either in January, April, July or October, the missi made their turn in their provinces, holding placita in four different centers during the month.

The missi were instructed to see that the counts and bishops worked in harmony, a problem which frequently needed attention from the central government; and the settlement of quarrels between the spiritual and temporal authorities or among persons of either department, if they could not be arranged peaceably,

was reserved to the personal hearing of the emperor. It was also the duty of the missi to receive the oath of fealty which Charles demanded from his subjects.

During the reign of Charles, then, a strong central authority overshadowed the increasing claims of private lordship. Popular law was harmonized with the royal law which interpreted and qualified it. The capitularies which proceeded from the king himself were submitted to the nominal consent of the people by the missi, and were confirmed by the signatures of the scabini (*échevins* or magistrates) and the bishops, abbots and counts who sat in their assemblies. The dangers of an absolutism depending entirely upon the personal qualities of the monarch and his ability to maintain the semblance of an autocratic government sanctioned by the consent of his people appeared soon after his death, but for the present his people recognized one master.

The gifts which were brought to the king at the Mayfield assembly seem to have varied in quality and quantity, and to have been subject to no fixed system. The place of taxes, however, was taken by the general obligation of the inhabitants of a district to public services, the maintenance of roads and bridges and other public buildings by personal labor and contributions; while the entertainment of the monarch or of his envoys upon demand was a duty which fell heavily upon neighborhoods liable to such visitations.

But the most important of public services, in a reign which was so largely spent in warfare and conquest, was the equipment of the king's host. In the early days of the Frankish tribes the military duties which were incumbent upon every man were the result of individual equality of freedom. This could be no longer assumed with the increasing complication of Carolingian society and the growth of an unfree class bound to the soil. At the same time, the principle of universal obligation to undertake military service continued to exist.

Charles, engaged in campaigns upon all hands, used it to suit the occasion, varying his demands according to the seriousness of the war and the districts of his empire affected by it, and endeavoring to graduate the burden in proportion to the capacity of the bearer. Only in the gravest circumstances did he resort to a general levy; according to his usual custom, subjects who dwelt at a distance from the theater of war had to furnish a lighter contingent than those whose frontiers were immediately threatened. However, the importance of his military regulations depends upon their recognition of property as the basis of service. Although the minimum of the property qualification varied it was the fundamental feature of this side of his legislation. When the *heriban,* or summons to war, went out, the count was to see that the free proprietors of his county made themselves ready. The minimum was fixed at the

CAROLINGIAN CASTLES AND COSTUME

Charles the Bald's famous illuminated Bible is a mine of information about contemporary life in the Carolingian kingdom. This page, for example, illustrating scenes in the life of S. Paul, shows the Roman influence on costume that still persisted in the ninth century and the kind of castellated houses that nobles were beginning to build for themselves.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

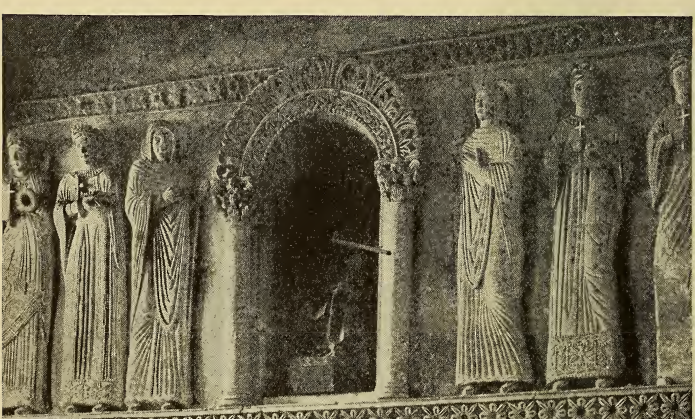
possession of a certain number of manses. He who owned this number was the unit of the host; if he owned less he was obliged to find another man of small property who could make up the necessary amount. The counts were expected to appear at the muster of the army with all their men, except a few who might be left behind to protect their lord's wife, family and household and manage his domestic affairs.

Similarly, bishops and abbots, although excused from fighting, sent their lay vassals, of whom only two in each case might stay behind. Those who stayed, however, paid a fine for the privilege of being exempted from the trials and dangers of the war. Thus the army was recruited partly from the estates of the magnates who were directly subordinate to the monarch himself.

All who possessed or represented the specified number of mansi held as a beneficium of any senior (*seigneur*) were to come with their lord to the host, or, if he did not come, with the count.

Such expedients to fill the ranks of the army, and at the same time to lighten the hardship of service for the more needy, held within them important consequences which can hardly have been foreseen by Charles. The tenure of land as the basis of military service takes the place formerly occupied by the personal duty of the free tribesman. For the time being the conditions were unfixed, and the demand was proportioned to the occasion; but the inevitable result was to transfer the duty from the individual to the estate he held. In the future it will be such and such a holding of land that is bound to supply a fighting man or contribute to his support according to a regular and invariable assessment: the actual tenant will do the service, not on his own account, but in virtue of his holding, to which the same service will continue to be attached after his day, quite irrespectively of personal ownership.

Further, the recognition of the beneficium as a gift which it was in the power of any landowner to convey to a subordinate, controlled by the crown only in so far as the beneficiary is bound to



FINE EXAMPLE OF LOMBARD ART AND COSTUME

A notable example of Lombard art is the series of stucco reliefs of female saints in the chapel of the Lombard kings at Cividale del Friuli. Byzantine influence is strongly marked in the costume. Lombardy produced many skillful architects and masons and, at a later date, these contributed not a little to the general revival of art that began in Charlemagne's more northern dominions.

answer the summons to the host, was the first step in the establishment of the feudal hierarchy in which every man had his lord and was immediately responsible to him as his tenant. As the remnants of the free population were drawn into a service which either curtailed or completely removed their freedom, the power of the great tenants and their chief vassals grew, until, with a band of followers bound to them by oaths of homage and fealty in return for grants of land from their wide estates, they stood between the king and his subjects and wielded an authority which was a menace to the throne.

As long as Charles the Great lived, feudal tendencies were kept well in check, and their development was arrested until some years after his death. For the permanence of his Empire a succession of monarchs as able and active as himself was necessary. This he either disregarded or judged impossible; at any rate, he followed the usual Frankish custom of partitioning among his sons. The division made at Thionville in 806, between Louis, Pepin and Charles, showed no consciousness of natural geographical boundaries; on the other hand, from this time the separate monarchies of France and Germany took their origin, and the permanent division of the Franks of Neustria, with a language influenced and transformed by their contact with Gallo-Roman civilization, and those of Austrasia, speaking a Teutonic tongue and preserving much of the primitive character and customs of their race, was achieved.

ARTISTS AND CRAFTSMEN

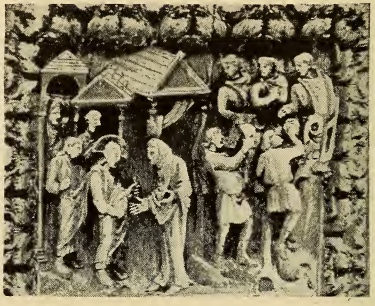
In the great monasteries of Carolingian times were many devoted artists who worked with their own hands. The type is suggested in this picture of the building of the Temple, from the Golden Psalter illuminated at the monastery of St. Gall in 872.

From the anarchy of the reign of Louis the Pious and his sons emerged also the feudal constitution of society to which the legislation of Charles the Great had contributed a great, if unconscious, impetus. A host of principalities and lordships grew up with independent administrations checked by no central power. The treaty of Verdun was founded upon national distinctions, and it was by national sovereigns that the chaos of feudal government was to be brought into order, and the weaknesses of the system to be turned to the advantage of royal dignity.

But the period during which Charles the Great held western Europe in his hand was more than an era of preparation for feudal society. The most enduring feature of the great emperor's rule was the encouragement which it gave to arts and letters. Charles himself was in no sense a learned person; his biographer, Einhard, indeed, says that he did not attempt to learn to write until late in life, and that, in spite of application, he never mastered the art. But his high intelligence and profound

curiosity led him to court the society of learned men and take part in their discussions. Naturally eloquent, he clothed his thought readily in words, and spoke several languages, including Latin, easily.

He sat at the feet of the savants whom he attracted to his court, and under his patronage learning revived throughout the Empire. The direction which it took was pre-eminently that of sacred study. Charles was especially interested in theological controversy; the practical aspect of his conception of monarchy as a Christian theocracy is shown, not only in the process of conversion which attended his conquests, but by his repres- of the Adoptionist heresy which sought to reconcile the divinity and humanity of Christ by the theory that He was a man adopted by the Father as His Son.

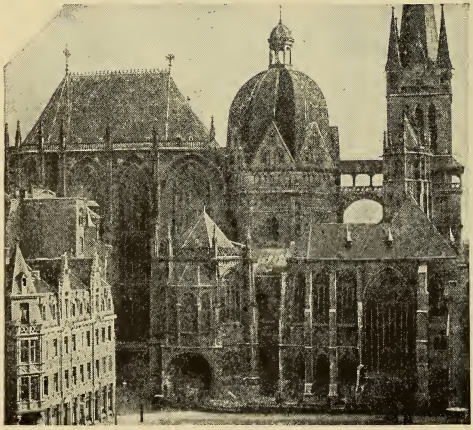


CAROLINGIAN IVORY PANEL

This panel carved in very high relief depicts the marriage feast at Cana, with Our Lord conversing with His Mother. The foliate border is typical of ivories executed in Carolingian times.

ALTHOUGH the scholars of the imperial court were acquainted with the works of classical Latin authors, it was rather from the grammatical than the literary and humanistic side: their Latin style was the rich and living vernacular of their age, influenced by the study of Christian theologians, and especially by that of Augustine, the Father in whose work were contained the fundamental ideas of medieval theology. The Carolingian renaissance of learning was thus a Christian movement, directed by the Church, with the emperor as its supreme head; and, although its immediate effects were checked by political confusion, it gave the first impetus to the scholarship and encyclopedic learning of the Middle Ages.

The establishment of a school in the royal palace goes back to the early days of the reign of Charles. In 782 Alcuin of York was induced to take up his abode at the court and direct the studies of the palace school. His acquaintance with the king developed



THE MINSTER AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

Substantially Charlemagne's palatine chapel at Aachen was a copy of San Vitale at Ravenna, built 250 years earlier. Both have a dome over an octagon with a two-storyed surrounding aisle—sixteen-sided at Aachen—approached by staircases in circular turrets at the west end.

Photo, Neue Photographische Gesellschaft

into a close friendship. Not only was the school a center of teaching for young clerks; it was the theater of discussion between Charles and his courtiers on all manner of questions connected with the liberal sciences. The proficient pupils of the school were rewarded with promotion, which brought them in time to bishoprics and the headship of important monastaries. It was, indeed, by schools modelled upon the pattern set by the royal establishment, and founded in cathedral cities and monasteries, that knowledge now began to spread through western Europe. If the contribution of the monasteries to learning in later times has been somewhat overstated, there can be no question of their value from this point of view during the Carolingian epoch. Alcuin's retirement from court to preside over the great abbey of St. Martin at Tours implied no abatement in his learned labors. The activity in their dioceses of such bishops as Theodulf of Orléans, the Flavius Damoetas of the palace coterie, and the stimulus to monastic education given by such abbots as its Homer, Angilbert of St. Riquier, extended the influence of the palace far beyond its immediate precincts and filled the Empire with centers of culture.

In literature the age produced no work quite so remarkable and so individual as that great legacy of the Merovingian epoch, the history of Gregory of Tours. Chronicles, however, the Latin of which showed more attention to conventional grammar than that of Gregory, began to abound. Alcuin, who, like the Venerable Bede, took all knowledge for his province, was a prolific writer of Latin; his correspondence, that of a man whose advice was much in request and who was called upon to give his opinion upon important matters of state, is of historical as well as of literary value.

While court influence encouraged the growth of a new Latin literature worthy of the revival of the Roman Empire, we must not forget that, at the same period, a vernacular literature was making its way in the form of popular songs, and that the figure of the great emperor became the central point of an epic cycle. It was in the southwestern districts of his Empire that these lays began to take shape, and it is significant of the country of their origin that their incidents are connected, not with his victories over the Saxons and Avars, but with his Spanish

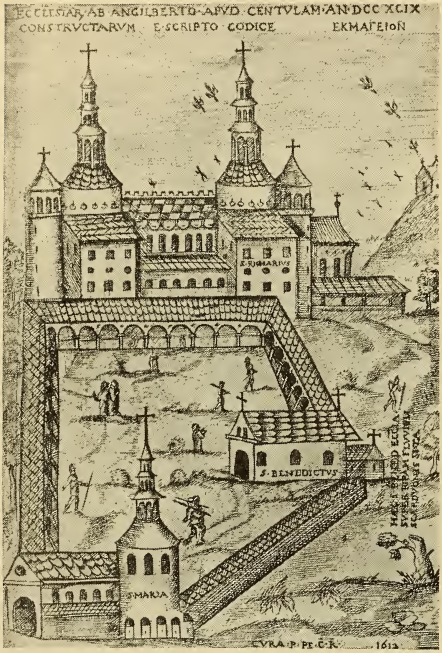
CAROLINGIAN STYLE IN FRANCE

The church at Germigny-des-Prés, Loiret, France, was built 801-806 by Theodulph, bishop of Orleans, traditionally in imitation of Charlemagne's palatine chapel at Aachen. In plan it is a Greek cross, the four arms ending in horseshoe apses, with a cupola supported on four columns in the center.

From Rivoira, 'Moslem Architecture'

campaigns and the action of Roncevaux (Roncesvalles).

The political system, the social life and the culture of medieval Europe were thus the result of the union of the Western nations beneath a ruler who, although it was past his power to ensure their permanent unity, was able to found an improved civilization which survived their division into separate kingdoms. In no respect was that civilization more fruitful than in the impulse which it gave to art, and more particularly to architecture.



ST. RIQUIER ON THE SOMME

The characteristic medieval cruciform church, with long nave, transepts and apsidal presbytery, was first developed in the western provinces of the Empire. An early specimen is the monastery church of St. Riquier on the Somme, built in 783, and shown here after a manuscript illumination.

From Lasteyrie, 'L'architecture romane'

Comparatively few buildings can be attributed with any degree of certainty to the reigns of Charles and his immediate descendants, but the literary evidence for the monuments of the period is abundant. Here and there we are able to identify actual buildings of which records have come down to us.

But such undoubted examples of Carolingian art are few and far between, and the descriptions of the great abbey churches which rose in numbers during the first half of the ninth century are too vague and rhetorical to enable us to reconstruct them with positive certainty. One point, however, is obvious. During this period the cruciform church, with its apsidal presbytery, transept and long-aisled nave, became the ordinary plan of the monastic church. This is the type of church which appears with an apse at either end in the famous plan of the monastery of St. Gall, and it was in the development of this type from the timber-roofed to the stone-vaulted structure that the line of subsequent progress lay.

In Gaul in particular the buildings of the age formed a new link in a continuous chain which went back to the days of the Roman occupation. The influences which produced medieval architecture may not have been wholly of Western and Roman origin; a school of critics to whose judgment respect is due lays stress upon the possible infiltration of architectural motives from oriental countries. There is no reason, however, to doubt the appropriateness of the title Romanesque, generally applied to the western European architecture which came into being after the fall of the old Roman Empire.

Nor was it necessary that this architecture should proceed directly from an Italian source, although it was in Italy

that the works of art were chiefly to be found which Charles the Great removed for the beautification of the chapel at Aix and the royal palace of Ingelheim. In the cities of Gaul there still existed monuments of Roman architecture, arches, amphitheaters and relics of baths and palaces, which could afford patterns and suggestions to builders. There is thus no need to assume a regular progress of architecture from Italy northwards at this period; this had taken place already as the result of Roman conquest, and the revival of the art, in the hands of a vigorous people united under a monarch on whom the mantle of the Western emperors had fallen, had as good an opportunity upon the banks of the Loire or the Rhine, or among the cities of Provence, as in Italy itself.

While, on the other hand, there is no doubt that Italy, with her past prestige, contributed, as time went on, to the progress of Romanesque art north of the Alps, the obstinate legend which assumes that the diffusion of Romanesque architecture was achieved by groups of artists, whose organization in guilds had continued unbroken throughout the barbarian invasions of Italy, is without historical basis.

Of the subsequent development of Romanesque architecture we cannot speak at length here. Finding its way to achievement along many different paths, forming itself into distinct provincial styles in obedience to the demands of climate and local material, solving the problem of the stone vault in accordance with the opportunities so afforded, it attained in the Norman provinces, in Normandy itself and in England, the point at which the way was ready for the conversion of its massive forms into the grace and lightness of Gothic construction.

As the earliest impulse to its forward movement had proceeded from the churches and cloisters of the Neustrian kingdom, so its final consummation was reached upon French soil, in the abbey church of St. Denis and the cathedral churches of northern France, in which the principles inherent in its gradual progress received their logical application in the language of a new architectural style.

The artistic energy of the Christian Empire was concentrated upon the erection of churches and monasteries; it was in these that the authors of the day discovered the wonders of their age, and it was through them that the straight path of future advance led. However insubstantial were the theories of monarchy held by Charles the Great, however complete their practical failure under his successors, the importance which he gave to the spiritual element in his rule, and his conception of the Empire as a state primarily Christian, continued to have a profound effect upon medieval thought, and the greatest masterpieces of medieval art were produced by minds in which the spiritual and secular elements in life were closely associated, and in which the second of these was employed to temper the first. Already, under the sway of supernatural influence, the creative imagination found its outlet in the service of the Church, and the art which was to be applied in process of time to castles and dwelling-houses was merely the reflection, for certain definite and practical purposes, of the art which had been chiefly fostered in that service.

THE LIFE OF SAXON ENGLAND

HOW THE OLD ROMAN PROVINCE FARED FOR HALF A MILLENNIUM UNDER ITS TEUTONIC CONQUERORS

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During the troubled last decades of the Roman Empire, Britain was again and again denuded of its Roman troops; and the year 410, when Alaric sacked Rome, is generally regarded as also marking the end of the official connection between Rome and Britain, though there are those who hold that the Roman legions were in effective occupation for some years longer.

Our last satisfactory picture of Roman Britain belongs to a period nearly twenty years after Alaric's sack of Rome. St. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, visited it to help the orthodox in their controversy with heretics. The account of his visit was written at a date sufficiently near the saint's life to merit credence, and the story shows us the Britons still trying to live the ordinary life of Roman provincials.

When the curtain is rung down, and how little the Roman world knew of what was going on in Britain we may gather from two facts. About the middle of the next century Procopius—a well-informed historian writing in the center of civilization, Constantinople—records the superstition that the souls of the dead were ferried to Britain from the opposite side of the Channel. A little later the great Pope Gregory made his famous remark about the curly-headed youths whom he met in Rome, that they were not Angles but angels. No one who knew much of the Angles at this date would have thought them angels. Gregory had no such hallucinations about his neighbors the Lombards, whom he calls "unspeakable." A closer acquaintance would have shown him that Angle and Lombard were much alike. But the noble savage looks noblest from a safe distance.

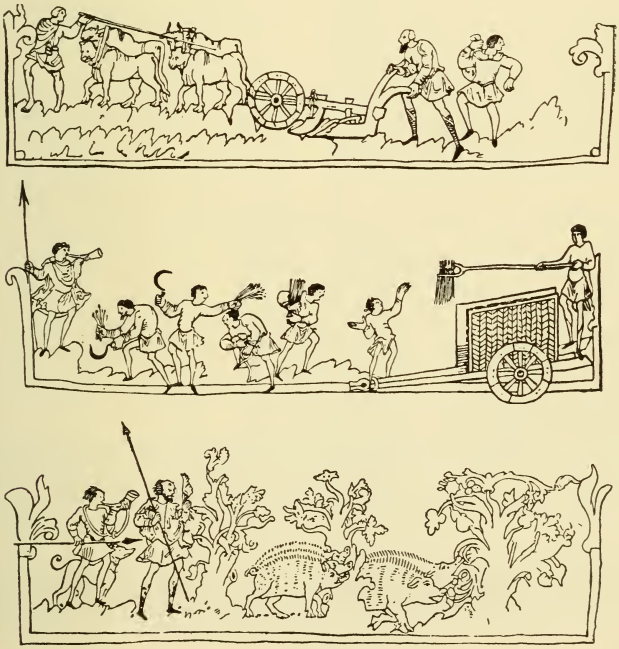
And so, nearly a hundred and seventy years after St. Germanus first touched the shores of Britain, St. Augustine was sent on his mission by Gregory; and the curtain rises once more. What we see is something utterly different from the Britain which St. Germanus had visited. The whole of the south-east of the land, at any rate, is heathen in creed and Teutonic in speech. There are British Christians, but Augustine goes nearly to the Bristol Channel to meet them.

This change, from Britain to England, was fundamental for all the future history of the land, yet as to its details it is wiser to admit ignorance. It was not till more than four hundred years after the beginning of the English invasion that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was drawn up in the form in which we now have it. In this Chronicle we find a number of dates purporting to record battles fought in the conquest of England, stages in the settlement. These dates and names were doubtless drawn from some earlier record, but, even so, their value will always remain a subject of controversy.

It is pretty safe to say that it was not till some considerable time after Christianity had been introduced by Augustine that any idea of a connected chronicle occurred to Englishmen. The material such a chronicler would have to use would be oral tradition, war songs of the same type as those which, five hundred years or more before, Tacitus had noted as being the one kind of annals prevalent among the Teutonic tribesmen. A chronicle that has been based on such material must necessarily be, to say the least, unsystematic and imperfect; even if the matters mentioned in it be in themselves accurate, we cannot treat the chronicle as a scientific summary of the leading events. An unimportant skirmish would be remembered

because of some heroic episode in the fight, while what proved to be an epoch-making battle might well be passed over as being all in the day's work.

We are not altogether in the dark here, because on the Continent we are sometimes able to compare the story, as recorded by a contemporary Latin or Greek annalist, with the story as modified in the traditional poetry of the Germanic tribes—Goths or Burgundians or Franks. We can see what an unsafe basis for historic conjectures such tradition affords, even when it is indisputably historic in origin. Some fact is there, but much has been misrepresented, and much forgotten. And, for that reason, no argument can ever be drawn from silence. The Celtic traditions about Arthur are evidence (and evidence which cannot be ignored) that such a champion did actually lead the British hosts in their struggle against the Saxon invaders. The fact that Arthur is never mentioned at all in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is absolutely no evidence whatsoever against his existence. It does not justify us in disregarding the references to him in Nennius and the *Annales Cambriae*.



PLEASURES AND LABORS THAT MARKED THE YEAR OF THE ANGLO-SAXON FARMER

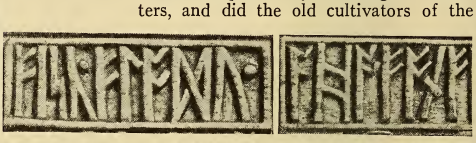
The illustrations to a calendar, done some time after the year 1000, give the complete round, month by month, of an Anglo-Saxon freeman's year. The months shown here, reading from the top, are: January, ploughing and sowing—note the wheeled plough drawn by oxen; August, harvesting the corn with sickles and pitchforking it into a farm wagon; September, hunting boars on foot in the forest. *British Museum: Cotton MSS., Julius A. vi*

It is more surprising that the earliest reference from the British side makes no mention of Arthur, though the omission does perhaps admit of explanation. Gildas the Wise was a British cleric who wrote while the Saxon conquest was in progress, and he mentions, not Arthur, but a certain Ambrosius Aurelianus as having brought the enemy, for the time being, to a stand-still. Gildas is one of the most disappointing of writers: he might have told us so much, and he tells us almost nothing. He was more intent on admonishing his contemporaries than informing posterity. It is as if some future historian had to gather what information he could about the progress of the Great War from a volume of sermons preached in St. Paul's between 1914 and 1918. We do gather, however, from Gildas that the Saxon invasion was a sudden flood which devastated all the eastern part of the island, forcing its victims to take refuge in the more mountainous west; and that, after the first flood, there was something of an ebb—that the invaders had devastated more land than they were able to occupy or hold.

For the fire—a fire of just vengeance by reason of our former sins—fed by the hand of these sacrilegious ruffians in the east, was spread from sea to sea. It destroyed the neighboring cities and regions, and did not rest in its burning course until, having burnt up nearly the whole face of the island, it licked the Western Ocean with its red and cruel tongue. . . . All the "colonies" were leveled to the ground by the frequent strokes of the battering ram, and all the inhabitants, with the overseers of the church, priests and people, were slaughtered, with swords flashing and flames crackling on every side. Terrible was it to see, in the midst of the streets, tops of towers torn from their lofty fittings, the stones of high walls, holy altars, fragments of bodies, covered with clotted blood, so that they seemed as if squeezed together in some ghastly wine press. There was no burial for the dead, save in the ruins of their homes, or the bellies of beasts and birds (with all reverence to the blessed souls, if indeed many such were found, which at that time were carried by the holy angels to Heaven). . . .

[Here, and in other places where I have occasion to quote from the original authorities, I have, with the permission of the publishers, Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., used the same translation as appears in my collection of sources for England before the Norman Conquest.]

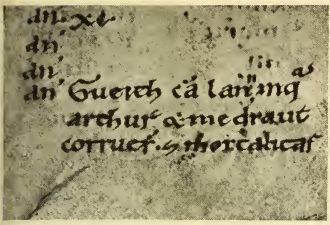
This brings us to what has been called the "fundamental controversy" of Anglo-Saxon history. Must we imagine all the conquered districts to have been inhabited solely by Angles, Saxons or Jutes, as the case may be, who had rooted out the original Roman-British inhabitants? Or did the old population live on, serving their conquerors and intermarrying with them? Was the Anglo-Saxon conquest only a change of masters, and did the old cultivators of the



INSCRIPTIONS IN THE 'FUTHORC,' OR RUNIC ALPHABET

Runes were known to the Anglo-Saxons on the mainland and were carried with them to England; but they were used only for short inscriptions, and there is no evidence that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, composed much later, when Christianity had disseminated the alphabet, was based on historical runic documents. Top left: owner's name scratched in runes on the chape of a sword from Nydam (Denmark); remainder: runic inscriptions from the Northumbrian 'Franks' casket (see page 1364 in this chapter).

British Museum



FIRST MENTION OF ARTHUR

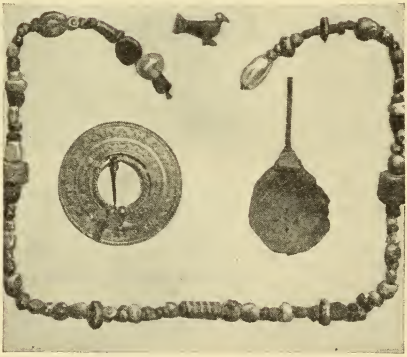
'The Battle of Camlann, in which Arthur and Medraut (Mordred) fell'—so runs this entry in the Annales Cambriae. The two entries in the Annales and the passages in Nennius constitute the earliest mention of the British hero who for a time checked the Saxon invasion.

British Museum and MS. Harleian 3859

soil remain a large element in the population? In the west there is no doubt whatever that they did, but, so far as the bulk of England is concerned, historians of weight have expressed the opinion that "against the hypothesis that this was the general case, the English language and the names of English villages are the unanswered protest."

MANY scholars have, on the other hand, disputed this. Yet the argument from the English language is a hard one to meet. English, as we find it in the earliest Anglo-Saxon records, is surprisingly free from either Celtic or Latin admixture; and such Latin elements as we do meet are fairly clearly not to be traced to any mixture of the population in England. They are mostly words introduced by the Christian missionaries. There is, in addition, a very small and more ancient element of words borrowed from the Latin, but this borrowing seems often to have taken place before the English came to England at all; it is simply due to that knowledge of Roman things which spread among all the barbarians bordering on the Roman Empire.

Of course, a people may change their language without very much admixture of foreign blood. It is arguable that, without any very overwhelming infusion of English blood, people in the eastern parts of this country might have come to speak English and reckon themselves Englishmen, but hardly in so very few generations as separate the latest era of Roman Britain from the earliest records of Saxon England.



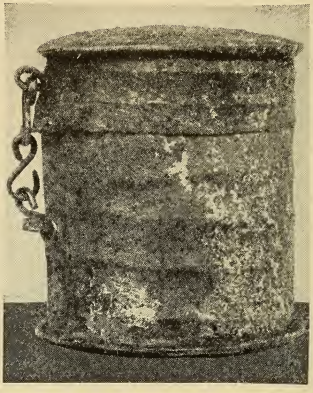
METAL TRINKETS WORN BY THE PAGAN ENGLISH

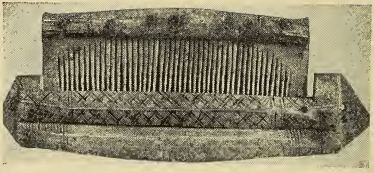
Archaeologists might well deplore the conversion of the English to Christianity, for it put an end (c. 650) to the burying with the dead of weapons and gear. These specimens, all but the group in the top, come from Kent and from Chessel Down in the Isle of Wight; though the localities are widely separated, there is little to distinguish the finds (note the perforated spoon common to both), and, indeed, Bede tells us that both districts were settled by Jutes. The other finds are different (note the girdle-hanger); they come from Cambridgeshire, settled by Angles.

British Museum

THE argument from place-names is equally strong. In the east of England we find Celtic names for rivers and hills; but this proves nothing, for, even with a complete change of population, such names of natural features may live on. It is only when we get to the west, where, as we know, the old population did live on, that Celtic names are less uncommon. There are some in Dorset and the adjoining parts of Wiltshire, and in Devon and Somerset. So with with the Welsh border, and with Lancashire, Cumberland and Westmoreland. The difference between the state of things in these counties and in the districts farther east must reflect a real difference in the character of the settlement.

It is when we come to the old English laws that we find the clearest instances of the existence of a population of slaves and serfs. We need not assume that this servile population first grew up in England. If we read carefully the account which Tacitus has left us of the Germans on the Continent it becomes clear that they were not that nation of free men, among whom slavery was all but unknown, that modern idealists have depicted. From the picture which Tacitus gives us, we learn that the tribesmen spend much time over their tribal business and assemblies, sitting always armed; the chieftains have large retinues of selected and warlike youths; these men despise labor; "it is not so easy to persuade them to plough the earth and await a harvest as to challenge a foe and win honorable scars." There are slaves, on the other hand, who occupy their own farms, paying their masters fixed sums in grain, cattle, clothing; yet these farmers are mere chattels whom the masters can kill, and do kill, in fits of rage.





TRAPPINGS OF ENGLISH WARRIORS AND THEIR LADIES

These are specimens of some of the finer objects yielded by excavation. Bottom is a diagram of an iron shield-bass found at Bidford-on-Avon. It shows the relation between shield, boss and handle. The other objects are a woman's bronze work-box from Kirby Underdale (top) and a bone comb-case found at York. The comb and case are of Danish type and belong to the Viking period.

British Museum and F. C. Wellstood

Since, then, slavery was an institution with which the Angles and Saxons were quite familiar while still on the Continent, we should expect them, when they conquered England, to have come as a ruling aristocracy, taking over the Roman villa, with all its laborers, whom they could treat as serfs or slaves. Yet the fact remains that the English language and the names of English villages prove that what took place over the greater part of England was very much more than a mere change in the country.

The easiest way to account for the difficulty is to keep in mind the distinction between two very different kinds of the governing class of

invasion. First came the marauding bands of Angles and Saxons, bent simply on plunder and massacre, destroying and robbing in districts where, as yet, it had never occurred to them that they might make permanent homes. And much later there were the bands of immigrants, bringing with them their wives, children and all their belongings, and bent on settling and tilling the land, no doubt with the help of any slaves they could get. But it is quite possible that, by the time this second mass immigration took place, many districts had been fairly thoroughly cleared, by the constant raids, of all their old inhabitants; and common sense would lead a man who had cattle or slaves to take them into some part of Britain where he might have a chance of keeping them safe from the raids which the Angles and Saxons were always making in their light boats.

SUCH AS THE SAXON RAIDERS USED

Long before migrating the Saxons systematically raided the British coasts, and the eastern districts were probably depopulated, leaving an almost empty land for reoccupation. The 'long keels' in which the raiders came were like this ship preserved in the mosses of Nydam, in their mainland home.

From Engelhardt, 'Denmark in the Early Iron Age'

But, whatever may have been the proportion of the original inhabitants of Britain whom the Teutonic conquerors caught and kept among them as servile or semi-servile laborers, it is quite clear that neither in England nor in their previous life on the Continent did these Teutons constitute that ideal democracy which historians once loved to depict. So far was kingship from being unknown among them, before their arrival in England, that we know the names of a whole dynasty which ruled over the English while they were still in Slesvig. And, it is worth noting, the king of England today can trace his kinship to that dynasty, to kings who ruled over the English more than fifteen hundred years ago.

ENGLISH KINGS BEFORE THE INVASION

Kingship was well ingrained in the Anglo-Saxons, who knew little of the 'ideal democracy' sometimes assumed. They had known kingship even on the Continent, and this drawing by the thirteenth-century St. Albans monk, Matthew Paris, shows two pre-Conquest Anglian monarchs, Wermund and his son Offa.

British Museum; Cotton MSS., Nero D. i

In the laws of Ethelbert and other early kings we find revealed a society in which the rich man, so long as his purse lasts, can do almost anything he wishes. For wrongs may be compensated by a money payment. Society falls into classes, graded according to the compensation, or *wergeld,* which must be paid for slaying members of each class. These classes vary in detail in different parts

of the kingdom, but the Kentish scale illustrates the principle.

At the top of the scale stand members of the princely house. The life of an *ætheling,* or member of this class, is worth 1,500 shillings. We may reckon a shilling in Kent as about the value of a cow or an ox. Then comes the *eorl*—the old Kentish "earl" corresponds to the modern squire. His life is worth 300 shillings. Then comes the *ceorl,* by no means to be despised, though the word has sunk in modern English; it is our word "churl." They form the substantial yeomanry, and the life of each is valued at 100 shillings. Then come three classes of the semi-servile laborer or *læt,* worth respectively 80, 60 and 40 shillings each. Finally come the slaves.

Now, a very little thought will suffice to show that to speak of such a society as a "farmer commonwealth," in which all men are equal before the law, is absurd. The whole point is that men are unequal before the law. The cynic may say that men never are really equal before the law; and, no doubt, so long as any society is organized on a money basis, the rich man will always have advantages over the poor. He can buy the best legal advice. But Anglo-Saxon law is based on the assumption that the rich man ought to have advantages over the poor, it artificially adds to the advantages which wealth automatically gives.

If the earl knocks out the churl's tooth, six shillings put him right before the law; if reversed, the churl must pay the earl eighteen shillings.

Some offences there are, however, which are visited more severely on a great man than on a small one; slander is one of these. The reason is that slander is punished, theoretically, by cutting out the culprit's tongue. In fact, the tongue is not cut out; the culprit ransoms it, according to its price, which is one-third the price of his life. Now, just as an earl's life is worth three times the life of a churl, so is an earl's tongue worth three times the tongue of a churl; and if he utters slander with it, he finds it so to his cost.

ANGLO-SAXON STONE WORK

This broken shaft of an Anglo-Saxon cross at Bewcastle, Cumberland perhaps commemorates Alhfrith, son of Oswio. Another cross at Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire has on it Gospel scenes and part of a poem.

Photo, B. C. Clayton

Generally, Germanic law was calculated to make things easy for the rich and hard for the poor. If you belonged to a family well-born, rich, athletic, numerous and, above all, living on terms of friendship and mutual support, life must have been pleasant; but hardly otherwise.

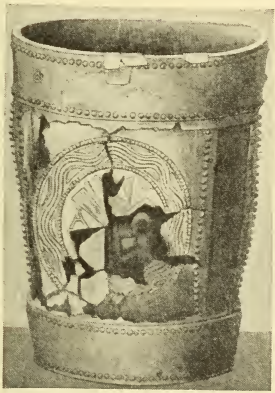
It is one of the great difficulties of the Anglo-Saxon period that our information concerning it is so scattered and is spread over so long a period. We have to piece together fragments of information, and these fragments are not contemporary. From the landing of Hengist and Horsa to the landing of William the Conqueror is more than six centuries; even from the time when the English were fairly well established in England to the Norman Conquest is about five centuries. Halfway through this period comes the beginning of the Danish invasions, which were directly to alter the character of half England and fundamentally affect the rest. We may think of the time before the Danish onslaught as the Earlier Anglo-Saxon period. The period of resistance to the Danes, the Later Anglo-Saxon age, is much different.

From the Earlier Anglo-Saxon period we have two important sources of information: the Epic of Beowulf and the Ecclesiastical History of the Venerable Bede.

Beowulf gives a picture of how life was lived in the great houses; it is altogether

aristocratic. Beowulf, unlike the Odyssey, ignores the life of the poorer folk. The period to which Beowulf belongs is probably that of the two or three generations after the general conversion of the country, though we have no exact data. Beowulf is composed on a much smaller scale than the Iliad or the Odyssey, and the detail given in it is much less vivid; still, we get a clear picture.

BEOWULF voyages from his home, in what is now Sweden, to visit the court of Hrothgar, king of the Danes; but, though the scene is placed in foreign lands, the detail, like the language, is English; the writer is drawing life as he knows it in his own country. It is not very different from the life of contemporary Scandinavia, but where there are differences they point clearly to England. We hear of roads paved with stone: the Romans had left such abundantly behind them in England. The king's wooden hall is spoken of as having a tessellated pavement: such pavements would be unknown in Denmark, and we may doubt whether they were found in the Saxon halls of England; but in England, where these pavements could be seen everywhere among the ruins of Roman cities and villas, they could easily be imagined as adding to the dignity of a king's house. In one place stone arches are mentioned: in Scandinavia these were still unknown, but prelates who had visited Rome were beginning to build churches in the grand manner in England. On the second day Beowulf and his fourteen companions see mountain-like promontories, the sea-cliffs of the land they are to visit gleaming in the sun: they could have seen, as they approached Denmark, only a gentle, wooded land rising a little from the water; but the poet is thinking of England.



WASSAIL CUP

From out of this bronze stoup, found in a grave at Long Wittenham, many an Anglo-Saxon warrior has drunk deep.

British Museum

The coats of mail jingle as the crew fasten their ship; meantime the coast-guard watches, from the cliff above, the bright shields and goodly harness being carried over the gangway. He rides down to the shore, and after a long discourse is satisfied as to the good intentions of the newcomers. Then he takes charge of the stranger's ship and hands it over to his guard; he himself escorts the newcomers along the road to the king's hall.

As they marched on, we are told, the gleaming and tempered helms, with their gilded boar-crests, glittered over the cheek-guards, till at last they saw the timbered hall, goodly and gold-adorned, before them. Here the coast-guard leaves the visitors with a courteous farewell; when they arrive they lean their shields against the palace wall, pile their spears—the asnen wood with the grey metal at the tip—and sit down upon the bench outside. The proper official comes out, and again there is dialogue and explanation, and the official re-enters and with ceremony explains to the king the message of the strangers. In due course the guests are invited within—they are to leave spear and shield outside, entering only with their swords and body armor.

So the weapons are left behind—under guard, although it is a friendly visit—and again we have ceremonious dialogue and explanation, this time between the king and Beowulf. Then a bench is cleared, and the strangers join in the carousal.

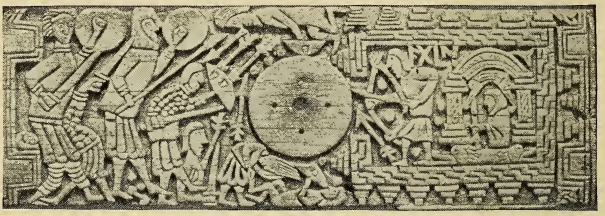
But the king's *thyle,* or public orator, is jealous that these strangers should have come, volunteering to carry out a task beyond the power of the native-born. From his seat opposite Beowulf he taunts him, asserting that he holds him to be but a braggart, and that he has once before been put to shame. Beowulf gives

a very different version of this incident in his earlier life, and the challenger is silenced and discomfited. Then the queen steps forward and offers the cup first to her lord the king, and then in order down the hall, with special ceremony and words of welcome when she reaches the stranger chief. Meantime, at intervals, the clear-voiced minstrel has been singing his lays.

So one might follow up the life depicted in the poem, till Beowulf returns victorious to the coast, claims his ship, and parts from the coastguard after words of mutual courtesy, Beowulf giving the guard a sword bound with gold in memory of his visit.

ANOTHER picture of a king's court is given us by Bede, but here grave deliberation is depicted rather than the etiquette of receiving knights from abroad. Edwin, the great king of Northumbria, has long been hesitating whether or not to accept Christianity. He had vowed to do so if granted victory over his enemies; and victory had been granted. Paulinus, the missionary, warned him that he ought to delay no longer in carrying out his vow. The following is the Tudor translation of Thomas Stapleton, revised:

Which word when the king heard, he answered immediately both that he would,



MYTH AND HISTORY ON THE 'FRANKS' CASKET

The 'Franks' casket is a splendid piece of Northumbrian carving dating from about 700. The plaques of whale's bone were joined with silver fittings and the whole was actually in use as a workbox in France as late as the eighteenth century. A panel of the lid (top), showing Egil, brother of Wayland the Smith, shooting arrows at attackers, illustrates the chain mail of the Beowulf period, while the back (capture of Jerusalem by Titus) shows costume in general. The subjects are thus partly pagan and partly Christian; and they are accompanied by Latin as well as runic inscriptions.

British Museum

DRINKING HORN OF AN ANGLO-SAXON CHIEF

The capacity of the Teutonic races for their native beer is noticed by Tacitus, and drinking cups and horns are common among Anglo-Saxon grave furniture. The great drinking horn illustrated here was found in a burial mound at Taplow Court by the Thames. Its rim mounting of bronze is enlarged above to show the fine detail.

British Museum

and also that he was bound, to receive this faith which Bishop Paulinus had preached and taught. "But yet I think it good," quoth he, "first to confer and commune hereof with my friends and my 'Witan': that, if they shall haply think herein as I do, then we may be christened all together in the fount of life." Whereunto when Bishop Paulinus agreed, King Edwin calling the Witan together, consulted with them, and asked severally each of them what manner of doctrine this seemed to be, which until that day had never been heard of before, and how they liked the honor and worshiping of this new god which was preached now amongst them.

Then one of the nobles said: "Such seemeth to me, dear sovereign, the life of men present here in earth (for the comparison of our uncertain time and days to live) as if a sparrow, beaten with wind and weather, should chance to fly in at one door of the hall, and flitting there a little about, straightway fly out at another, while your grace is at dinner in the presence of your aldormen and thanes; the hall itself being then pleasant and warm with a soft fire burning amidst thereof, but all places and ways abroad troubled with tempest, raging storms, winter winds, hail and snow. Now your grace considereth that this sparrow, while it was within the house, felt no smart of tempestuous wind or rain. But after the short space of this warm air the poor bird escapeth your sight and returneth from winter to winter again. So the life of man appeareth here in earth and is to be seen for a season: but what may or shall follow the same, or what hath gone before it, that surely know we not. Therefore if this new learning can inform us of any better surety, methinks it is worthy to be followed."

Thus, or in like manner, said the rest of the aldormen and the king's counselors, no doubt by the holy inspiration of God. . . . But that I may be short, and come near my purpose, the king gave his full and plain consent to this holy man, Bishop Paulinus, willing him to preach the Gospel freely; and himself renouncing there all idolatry, promised that he would receive and embrace the faith of Christ.

It is our misfortune that Anglo-Saxon literature did not produce those great prose histories preserved in Iceland under the name of "sagas." Bede, indeed, gives us the saga of the coming of Christianity, with many an incidental sidelight on English life; and Beowulf shows us what court life was like. But the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the most part gives us dry facts, without particulars. We can see that life in the service of Anglo-Saxon kings must have been exciting, but the details are almost always lost. The

throne was generally inherited from father to son, but from time to time an able and popular member of the royal house might jump a claim to the throne. How a king might forfeit his throne to a rival branch of the house by his own misbehaviour, and how his brother might try to win back the forfeited throne, we learn from one episode in the Chronicle. It is the one instance where, before the period of the Danish invasions, the Chronicle ceases to be a dry list of dates and names.

In this year Cynewulf and the "witan" of the West Saxons deprived Sigebryht (king of the West Saxons) of his kingdom for his unrighteous deeds, all save Hampshire; and that he held till he slew the aldorman who dwelt with him longest; and then Cynewulf drove him into the wood of Andred, and there he dwelt till a herdsman stabbed him at Privet; the herdsman did this to avenge the aldorman Cumbra.

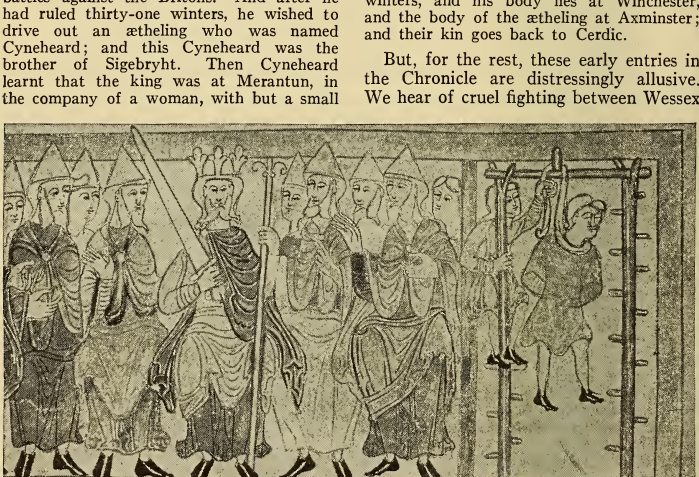
And this Cynewulf often fought great battles against the Britons. And after he had ruled thirty-one winters, he wished to drive out an ætheling who was named Cyneheard; and this Cyneheard was the brother of Sigebryht. Then Cyneheard learnt that the king was at Merantun, in the company of a woman, with but a small retinue. And there he surrounded him, and beset the bower round about, before the king's retinue knew of it. Then the king perceived that, and he went to the door, and defended himself valiantly, till he saw the ætheling; then he rushed out upon him, and wounded him sorely. And they were all fighting against the king till they had slain him.

Then the outcry of the woman aroused the king's retinue; and thither they ran, each as soon as he could; and to each of them the ætheling offered life and wealth; and not one of them would take it. But they fought until they all lay dead, save one British hostage; and he was sorely wounded.

Then in the morning the main body of the king's thanes, who had been left behind, heard that the king was slain; then they rode thither, and his aldorman Osric, and Wiferth his thane. And they found the ætheling in the place; the king was lying dead inside. . . . And they fought at the gate, till they forced their way in, and slew the ætheling, and his men, all save one. . . .

And this Cynewulf reigned thirty-one winters, and his body lies at Winchester, and the body of the ætheling at Axminster; and their kin goes back to Cerdic.

But, for the rest, these early entries in the Chronicle are distressingly allusive. We hear of cruel fighting between Wessex



JUSTICE DISPENSED BY THE KING AND HIS 'WITAN'

This king sitting in council surrounded by his 'witan,' or advisory body of experienced elders, calls to one's mind the scene described by Bede when Edwin of Northumbria accepted Christianity; the grim spectacle on the right, however, shows justice being dispensed. Actually, what is shown is the execution of Pharaoh's chief baker, from an eleventh-century MS. of Ælfric's version of parts of the Old Testament.

British Museum; Cotton MSS., Claudius B. iv

and Kent; there is one law, found both in the Kentish Laws drawn up about this time and in the contemporary Laws of the West Saxon king Ine, which perhaps reflects the state of things following this war:

If a man from afar, or a stranger, travel through a wood off the path, and neither shout nor blow his horn, he may be assumed to be a thief, and as such either slain or put to ransom.

Often this law has been quoted as showing the general insecurity of life and property in Saxon England. But possibly it was not at all times as bad as this; since the wording of this law is almost identical in the Kentish and Wessex Laws, we may suspect that it was adopted by mutual agreement, at the time of the peace, to stop raiding.

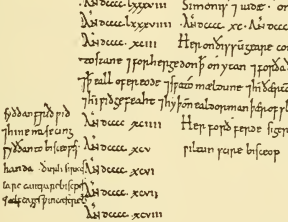
These laws of Ine give us many a hint of what life must have been like in Wessex about the time that Bede was writing his History in Northumbria and Beowulf was being composed. The Sabbath was observed with a strictness more severe than even that of Cromwellian times:

If a slave work on Sunday by his lord's command, he shall go free, and his lord shall pay 30 shillings fine. If, however, the slave work without his lord's knowledge, he shall be flogged, or pay the fine corresponding. But if a free man work on that day without his lord's command, he shall lose his freedom or pay 60 shillings; and a priest two-fold.

[The shilling in Wessex is only about one-fifth of the Kentish shilling: the price of a sheep against that of an ox.]

Robbery is cruelly punished: the thief captured red-handed is liable to death, though here, as nearly always, atonement can be made by a money payment:

If a thief be taken, he shall die the death; his life shall be redeemed by his wergeld. . . .



PAGE FROM ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE

At the end, as at the beginning, the Parker manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is bareness itself. The scribe here has written down the years from 984 to 1001, allowing one line to each year, and has then had to rub some out to get room for the more eventful ones. Three years are cancelled to make room for the battle of Maldon, and the annal runs into the margin.

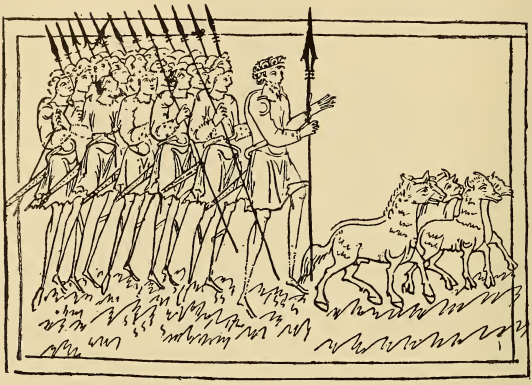
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Parker MSS.

The thief not actually caught on the spot is less severely punished:

If anyone steal, so that his wife know it not, nor his children, he shall pay a fine of 60 shillings. But if his household know, they shall all go into slavery. A child of ten can be an accomplice in theft.

But there is a distinction between slavery at home and the selling of an Englishman oversea. Englishmen were sold abroad as slaves during the whole Anglo-Saxon period, and were perhaps a chief

export of the country; but in Christian times this slave trade in Englishmen by



KING ATTENDED BY HIS THANES

Caedmon was a mid-seventh-century Anglo-Saxon poet, and a metrical paraphrase of Genesis and other religious poems have been attributed to him with varying degrees of possibility. The extant manuscript dates from about the year 1000. This illustration (of Nimrod as a 'mighty hunter') shows in actual fact an Anglo-Saxon king with his 'inweorud' or 'comitatus' of thanes.

By permission of Sir Israel Gollancz and the British Academy

Englishmen was recognized as being against the laws of God and Man:

> If anyone sell oversea one of his own countrymen, bond or free, though the slave be guilty, he shall pay for it with his [own] wergeld, and make full atonement unto God.

In addition to danger from thieves and from war, there was danger from raiding parties, whose activities ranked as intermediate between robbery and warfare. The numbers engaged made the difference:

> We call men thieves up to the number of seven; from seven to thirty-five a gang; above thirty-five an army ("here").
>
> He who is accused of belonging to a "gang" shall clear himself with an oath of 120 hides, or pay the compensation corresponding.

This last regulation brings us to one of the customs of Saxon England which strike a modern as most strange. Not only was the life of a great man worth more than that of a humble man; the oath of a great man was worth more than that of a humble man. Oaths were valued according to a man's status: an oath of 120 hides means the combined oath of two important men, or of a corresponding number of less important people.

Such was the organization of Anglo-Saxon society before the Danish invasions. This society received a shock when, just before the eighth century closed, Scandinavian pirates crossed the North Sea and sacked Lindisfarne. Anglo-Saxon life, as it has been sketched above, may seem wanting in security, but the sudden onslaught from an unknown heathendom gave a new sense of danger, hitherto unexperienced.

But this first threat was not immediately followed up. For two generations the Scandinavian attack in force was postponed, and it was not till the boyhood of King Alfred that England was all harried and burnt up. Then, after the heathen men had been fought to a standstill by Alfred, the land again enjoyed peace, and we again get valuable light on life in England, though, as always, fragmentary. The Chronicle gives us fairly detailed accounts of the land fighting, and one thrilling account of a sea fight in an estuary on the south coast of England.

When things settle down again, under Alfred and the line of able descendants who succeeded him, we have to remember that the north and east of England are, to a great extent, inhabited by men of

Scandinavian blood and speech. The distinction in religious belief disappears quickly—the "heathen men" settled in England become Christian with remarkable facility and rapidity. But the difference in dialect and manners remained, and the England north of Watling Street, although it was gradually conquered politically by the kings of Alfred's house, continued to be in many ways a very different place from the less changed Saxon districts to the south.

Yet it is clear that, even in that Saxon south, society is likely to have been altered by such a convulsion as the Danish invasion, and that the weaker, poorer and less warlike classes are likely to have become more and more dependent upon the richer families, trained to warfare and wealthy enough to maintain able-bodied fighting adherents. The laws of King Athelstan give the impression of a society governed much more strictly than had been the case of old by the king and the circle of aldormen, "wise men" and warriors who surround him. We should gather from the laws of Athelstan that there is much less "liberty" in the tenth century than there had been in the sixth or seventh.

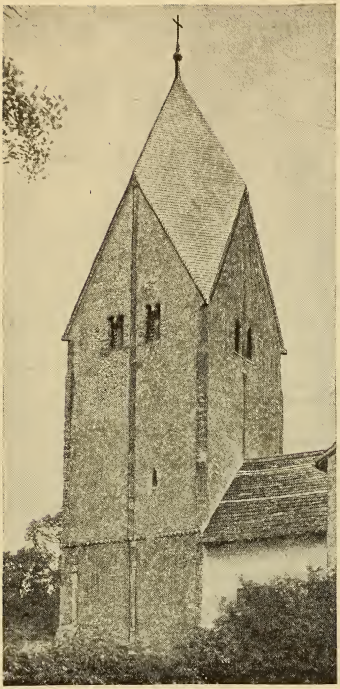
But we must be very careful not to be misled by words. What is this "liberty" which Englishmen are losing? Mainly the liberty of the strong man to knock on the head as many poor men as his family can afford to pay for. The local bully may now be dealt with in two ways. The king may begin to take an interest in his behavior; or his poorer neighbors may commend themselves to some powerful lord who can stand up for them—though naturally there had at all times been certain limits to the tyranny of the powerful and well-connected over the weak. However leniently murder was treated, theft had always been regarded as a crime.

Sometimes the same anomaly (for in these days it seems an anomaly) has been found in the rough society of backwoodsmen in more modern times. For theft always implied a moral stigma; slaying might, or might not, be morally justifiable. Yet even in the case of theft the principle of the wergeld, the price of a man's life, came in. Theft had been a capital offence, but we have seen that the culprit, if wealthy enough, could buy his life back from justice—though not invariably. For, as early Kentish laws show, the king, in Kent at any rate, might intervene, and insist upon having the life of the thief.

Under the influence of Christianity we see the growth of a feeling of the moral hideousness of crime. The later laws have a homiletic character which contrasts strangely with the matter-of-fact earlier documents. Instead of the terse "For knocking out the eye: fifty shillings compensation," we have reminders of a man's duty to God and his neighbor, and of the fear of hell. More and more, crime is coming to be looked upon as an offence against God and the state, not merely against the sufferer and his family.

He who persists in theft is not to be allowed to buy himself off, by payment of wergeld, "whether he be a freeman or a slave, a noble or a commoner; if it be a woman, whether she be mistress or maid; whoever it may be, whether taken in the act or no." Certain rights of sanctuary are allowed for a limited number of days, nine to three, according to the dignity of the protecting power; but when the time has expired the culprit must be produced; the man thief must then be killed, the woman thrown from a cliff or drowned.

But the regulations are most horrible regarding slaves. In the case of a male slave, eighty of his fellow slaves are to be collected and are to stone him to death; and if any of these involuntary executioners fail to hit the culprit three times, he is himself to be flogged three times. Finally, these eighty wretched slaves are made to pay three pence each as compensation to the lord whose slave they have put to death. (For a slave, albeit the property of others, may own property himself.) Similarly in the case of a female slave: eighty of her fellow slaves must be collected, each bringing three logs, and must burn the culprit to death. Then, as in the case of the man slave, those who carry out the sentence have to compensate the master for the loss of the slave they have killed. It is worth noting, however, that a female slave



TOWER OF A SAXON CHURCH

The tower of Sompting Church, near Worthing, in Sussex is unique among pre-Norman buildings in England owing to its four gables. This type of tower, found on the Rhine and elsewhere in Germany, is known as the 'German helm.'

is not thus punished for mere theft from her own master and mistress—it must have been theft from others.

From these laws of Alfred's successors the humors and horrors of Anglo-Saxon life can be amply illustrated. One of the most interesting laws points to the existence, in the reign of Edgar, nearly a thousand years ago, of the Saturday half-holiday. The strict abstention from work on Sunday was insisted upon quite early. The Laws of Edgar ordain that this Sunday rest must begin at midday on Saturday and last till dawn on Monday.

The renewed incursions of the Danes under Sweyn and Canute caused much misery, but they did not interrupt English civilization as the earlier incursions in Alfred's day had done. The monastic revival had been the greatest feature of the time of King Edgar and of Dunstan; and it continued, despite wars and rumors of wars. Many documents, mostly connected with Winchester, survive to show with what amazing skill the art of book illumination was practiced during the last century of the Anglo-Saxon epoch.

The abundant Anglo-Saxon manuscripts prove that, in the midst of all the lawlessness and national humiliation, the monastic house continued to be a center of art and civilization. The most striking thing about these later Danish invasions is the rapidity with which the invaders assimilate Christianity and begin to endow the minsters which their ancestors would have burned—nay, which they themselves would have burned not many years before. Canute changes rapidly from a wild young barbarian to a model of naïve piety, though we can sometimes see traces of the former wild barbarian peeping forth from beneath the trappings of civilization.

A picture of the ordinary life of this period can be got from the Colloquy of Ælfric, one of the learned men of the monastic revival. This little work was written to teach boys the elements of Latin. It begins by the scholar coming to the master to be taught, willing even to be flogged if that is necessary. The scholar brings with him a number of companions of different callings; the discourse which each of these has, in turn, with the master enables Ælfric to bring in a large number of words. The Latin text, with the help of an interlinear translation into Anglo-Saxon, thus introduces the reader to a vocabulary of the things of everyday life.

To us the value lies in the little pictures that it gives us of such every day life: the shepherd watching against the wolves with his dogs; the ox-herd

standing sentinel all night lest his oxen should be taken by thieves; the king's huntsman, with horse and bracelet which the king has given him. The huntsman shows that, even towards the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, we have still an England in which game is so plentiful that servants are kept not merely to preserve, but to kill, harts, roes and boars. The fisherman tells of his catch, but refuses to put to sea with the whale hunters, because that is too dangerous a calling; the fowler catches his birds by nets, snares, lime, whistling and the use of hawks, letting his hawks fly in the spring, and taming and training young ones in the autumn rather than keep the old birds through the summer; the merchant brings purple garments and silk, gems and gold, fine clothing and spices, wine and oil, ivory and brass, copper and tin, sulphur and glass.

Of London during most of this period we know strangely little. We have no record of when, or how, Roman London fell into the hands of the Saxon invaders. But we know that its reputation as a metropolis was such that, after Gregory had sent his missionaries from Rome, he planned London and York as the seats of the two archbishops, each with twelve bishops under him. It was seven years after his landing in Kent that Augustine sent Mellitus across the Thames; and Augustine's patron, Ethelbert of Kent, built St. Paul's in London. But the Londoners were devoted to their old religion, and relapsed into heathenism when the powerful king Ethelbert was no longer alive to compel them to be Christians; hence it is that London lost the opportunity of becoming the spiritual center of the southern part of the island.

It remained a commercial center, and, centuries later, after Alfred had won it back from the Danes, who held it for a

TYPICAL CITIZENS OF ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

In a series of scenes intended to illustrate the early chapters of Genesis, the Caedmon MS. actually affords us a fascinating glimpse of Anglo-Saxon domestic and agricultural life. We see just such a harpist as must have chanted Beowulf to the court (Jubal), and a smith at his anvil who would do equally well for Wayland (Tubal Cain). Cain, the 'tiller of the ground,' and Abel, the 'keeper of sheep,' are the typical husbandmen such as might have been encountered on any Anglo-Saxon farm.

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short time, it became a military center. But it was not until the days of the Confessor that Westminster became a great religious house. London was secular, and has, therefore, left little trace, for it is to the religious centers that we have to look for the survival of most of the monuments which have come down from the England of the Christian Saxon period.

BENEFACTION OF KING EDGAR SUPERBLY LIMNED

During the Anglo-Saxon period some fine MSS. were produced in the scriptoria of the monasteries, but the Danish invasions severely hampered this and all other forms of cultural activity. After Alfred's days there was a revival, however, and the most splendid illuminated manuscripts were produced in the century before the Norman conquest. This is the frontispiece of King Edgar's charter to New Minster or Hyde Abbey, Winchester and shows the king, between St. Peter and the Virgin Mary, presenting the document to Christ. Edgar (944-975) was the king who was rowed on the Dee by six vassal kings.

British Museum; Cotton MSS., Vespasian A. viii

THE PAPACY AND TEMPORAL POWER

STRUGGLES OF THE SEE OF ROME FOR INDEPENDENCE FIRST FROM THE EASTERN AND THEN FROM THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

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THE rise of the Papacy to well-nigh universal dominion is not the less marvellous because it is capable of explanation. In the present chapter we propose to state the factors which contributed to this momentous development, and to sketch its growth to its hour of triumph. We shall begin with the spiritual element, viz. the belief that the bishop of Rome possessed a spiritual primacy as the successor of St. Peter, the rock upon which it was held that Christ had established His Church. To this also must be added the claim that in Rome not only St. Peter but St. Paul had won his crown of martyrdom. That St. Peter was bishop of Rome, though not beyond dispute, may be conceded. The length of his episcopate is another question, and one which is not vital to the present issue.

Granted his episcopate, granted also the exegesis of the text which exalts him into the rock of foundation, there is the further claim that he handed on his peculiar prerogatives to his successors. This question depends for its acceptance or rejection upon certain presuppositions which have sharply divided the world for the last four centuries. What we ought to realize is that, whether the claims be true or false in fact, they are none the less real in their results. The belief in them of the larger part of the Church is the foundation on which the power of Papacy was built and still rests.

A less contentious factor is the martyrdom in Rome of St. Peter and St. Paul. The evidence seems to the present writer to be beyond reasonable doubt, nor would there appear to be grounds for rejecting the traditional sites of their burial. Accepting, therefore, the fact, due weight must be assigned to it.

That St. Peter and St. Paul were both martyred and buried in Rome gave to the city a sanctity that no other place except Jerusalem could claim, to say nothing of the thousands that in popular repute were supposed to have been martyred in its Colosseum, the export of whose bones from the Catacombs formed at one time in the Middle Ages almost the chief element of Roman commerce.

IF today a great army of tourists from all over the world journey to Assisi, how much more would be the influence in the age of faith of Rome, the city of the apostles and martyrs of God, at a time when, as we see in the story of the Crusades, a special sanctity was attached to places! Rome, with its great stations of pilgrimage, was indeed, the Jerusalem of the medieval world.

Another factor was of immense importance. Critics may smile at the tale of Constantine's "donation" of the West to Bishop Sylvester while he retired to his new city in the East, but, after all, the Middle Ages were right when they believed in its truth. In removing the seat of government from the Tiber to the Bosporus the aim of Constantine was to restore the imperial power by building on a new foundation where he would be free from the restraints and memories of tradition and paganism alike. But Constantine did not realize that he had done more than change the center of his Empire. He made the separation of East and West inevitable; not less inevitable was it that in the West the dominion should pass to the one power which represented continuity with the historic splendors of the Roman name and by its organism upheld the decaying tradition of national unity.

Hitherto the bishops of Rome had been obscure clerics, mostly Greeks, of whom,

however, it was claimed that twenty-seven had laid down their lives for the faith. Without greatness in themselves the bishops of Rome owed their influence to the consciousness of men that they were confronting paganism, with all its splendor and pride, in the capital of the world. Though from the days of Cyprian the primacy of Peter had been recognized as an established fact, nevertheless the bishop of Rome, who claimed to be his successor, had been but the *primus inter pares:* he was forced, however reluctantly, to acknowledge as his equals the apostolic patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch.

But by the removal of the imperial seat to the Bosporus, followed by the decay and ruin of the imperial power in Italy, Constantine unwittingly put the bishops of Rome in the place of the absent emperors, inheriting their tradition, their prestige and the very titles (for instance, Pontifex Maximus) which they derived from paganism. Moreover, the bishop of Rome was the greatest landowner in the Empire.

Furthermore, the step which led to the aggrandizement of the see of Rome was destructive of any rivalry from the Eastern bishops. At Constantinople the emperor had no intention of being other than the supreme head of the Church. Constantine and Justinian two centuries later controlled and guided ecclesiastical legislation, administered discipline and enforced orthodoxy. In their hands were the appointment and deposition of both bishops and patriarchs—prerogatives never surrendered by the feeblest of their successors. To the only possible rival of papal Rome, thus restricted by the pressure of secular authority, there was denied the opportunity of contesting her supremacy.

FIRST OF THE POPES

Cast probably in the fifth-sixth century from an ancient mould, with a head and hands added in contemporary style, this bronze statue of St. Peter holding the symbolic keys is one of the treasures of the Vatican Basilica.

Photo, Anderson

But in the West Rome had no peer. The stars in their courses fought for the Papacy. The Eastern patriarchates, Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, fell before the Moslem hordes, but in the West the sack of Rome by Alaric (August 24, 410) led more than any other event to papal aggrandizement. It delivered the Papacy from the dead hand of the past. The ancient city with its pagan traditions was hopelessly ruined, but the bishop of Rome rose in added grandeur above the wreck of the old institutions. In the East in the seventh century eight hundred sees were swallowed up in the vortex of Islam; in the West the barbarians, whether Frank, Goth or Norman, when conquered by the Church, infused by their victories new blood into the dominion of Peter. Even in the general massacres with which their invasions began, it was in the churches alone that there was safety.

In the fifth century we come across the first pope upon whose mind dawned the conception of Rome's universal spiritual supremacy—Innocent I (402-417). He claimed that the Churches of the West owed obedience to his see, and must maintain a rigid uniformity according to Roman usages. H was succeeded at no great interval by Leo the Great (440-461). It was Leo's fortune to stand out as the one great name in the Christian world. When Attila swept down on Rome (451), it was neither by her armies nor by her walls that she was saved. The barbarian

bowed before the eloquence and confidence of Leo.

A Roman of the Romans, Leo was thus the first of the popes to assert that the power of Rome was eternal. At the Council of Chalcedon (451) his visions and claims were recognized, and the primacy of the Roman see was acknowledged. The Council's statement that the primacy was the result of political supremacy did not detract from its value as an instrument in the hands of her bishops. Justinian (527-565) also, in his Code, recognized the supremacy of the Roman Church, and commanded all the others to be united with her.

The founders of the popedom, Innocent I and Leo I, were succeeded at the close of the sixth century by one who more than consolidated their work. Gregory I (590-604), to whom by universal consent men have given the double titles of Saint and Great, must be regarded as the real father of the medieval Papacy. He marks in more ways than one the beginning of a new era. The first monk to become a pope, Gregory was also the first of the popes to turn to Western races to redress the balance of the East.

To hold the metropolitans in dependence on the Roman see, to restore the rights of the bishops, to crush heresy and schism, to revive the spiritual life of the Church, to make monasticism under the sane rule of Benedict an effective instrument of good, especially in missionary work among the barbarian conquerors—for instance, in England—these were some of the duties, he conceived, of the successor of Peter. Hildebrand and Innocent III only carried out in later ages with further detail the ideas of Gregory. On March 12, 604, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, Gregory, "the consul of God"—to use the fine phrase that men wrote over his tomb—"went to enjoy an eternal triumph."

By the bloodless weapons of his missionaries the barbarians of Britain, the heretics of Gaul and Spain, were once more added to an empire more lasting than that of Julius. Through the labors of the Englishman Boniface of Crediton, the Apostle of Germany, the Gospel was first preached beyond the Rhine. But in his letter to Gregory II (November, 722), Boniface acknowledged himself to be the servant of the popes. Thus for the children that she had lost Rome had found others. On the firm foundation laid by Gregory I the life of Europe was established anew. The secular empire had been swept away by the flood; against the "rock" of Peter the deluge of barbarism had broken in vain.

In theory the bishops of Rome were still dependent upon Constantinople, but in the eighth century circumstances enabled the popes to throw off what little dependence still bound them to the Eastern Empire.

An opportunity arose over the iconoclastic controversy (726). The great empeor Leo the Isaurian, stung by the Mahomedan taunt that the Christians worshipped idols, desiring also to infuse a new life into the Empire by correcting the sentimentalism of Oriental Christianity, ordered that images should be used only as architectural ornament. In the West as in the East the common people rose in defense of their relics. The exarch at Ravenna was slain, and Pope Gregory II, whom the emperor had deposed and endeavored to seize, declared Leo excommunicate, and cut his see off from dependence on Constantinople (729).

More important consequences flowed from these events. Liutprand, the king of the Lombards, saw in the dissensions between Rome and Constantinople a double opportunity. Proclaiming himself the champion of the popular faith, he overran the exarchate; professing that he acted for his overlord at Constantinople, he almost succeeded in capturing Rome. In despair Gregory III appealed to the protection of the Franks (739), who seven years before had changed the history of the world by rolling back from western Europe the Moslem invaders. Charles the Hammer, the then "mayor of the palace," died before he could obey the call, but his son, Pepin the Short, fulfilled what may have been his father's intentions.

Influenced by the English Boniface, he entered into an alliance with Rome. On his side Pope Zacharias, now claiming to be the king of kings, pronounced the deposition of the nominal sovereign of France, the last of the Merovingian kings, Childeric III (751). The Franks, thus

freed by the Church from their oath, elected to the vacant throne the real head of the nation, the mayor of the palace. A sanctity as yet unknown and more potent than legal claim was added to the office. In 754 a pope, Stephen II, for the first time crossed the Alps, and at St. Denis annointed the new sovereign and his two sons with holy oil. Pepin in return discharged his share of the compact by twice descending into Italy to the rescue of the Papacy. The Lombards were driven back, the imperial exarchate delivered from their power and bestowed on the bishop of Rome. The forgery about the same time of the so-called "donation" of Constantine to Pope Sylvester gave the appearance of legality to this extension of the papal power.

Thus began the temporal sovereignty of the popes. This was the nucleus of the States of the Church. In return, Stephen bestowed on the Frankish king the title of Patrician of the Romans. This new title paved the way for the higher dignity that was to follow. When, on Pepin's death (768), the Lombards once more rose in revolt and threatened the new States of the Church, his son Charles the Great—Charlemagne—swept down from the Alps, seized the Lombard kingdom for his own and renewed to the pope the gift of his father (774). Then on Christmas Day, 800, there took place in St. Peter's that memorable event which separates the history of modern Europe from that of the ancient world, the coronation by the sole surviving representative of the original apostolic sees of the kneeling Charlemagne as the first head of the Holy Roman Empire.

To the careless observer it might seem as if by this coronation the Papacy had voluntarily surrendered part of her power and claims to another. Henceforth the popes would no longer rule alone in the imperial city; others would represent more fully than they its past glories. In reality it was not so. It is true that Charlemagne was supreme in Church as in State. But the Church gained more than she gave, for Charlemagne lavished upon her wealth and power. Her bishops and abbots were made a part of the rising feudalism, while tithes for the first time were enforced by law. Throughout his vast dominions Charlemagne knit the Church into one compact body, subjecting the bishops to the control of the metropolitans and the metropolitans in turn to the control of the bishop of Rome.

GREGORY THE GREAT

A contemporary ivory diptych in the cathedral at Monza shows Gregory I, the great pope (590-604) who more than any other established the supremacy of the Papacy in the West.

From this unification and centralization of a dismembered Europe, the Papacy stood to win in the long run more than the Empire itself. When the great emperor rested from his labors Rome kept her gains, canonized his memory, and laughed at the attempted control of his feeble successors.

The history of the Holy Roman Empire as empire need not further concern us. Here it is sufficient to note those elements which influenced the growth of the Papacy, and led to centuries of feud between the civil and ecclesiastical powers. The first of these elements was the very character of the Empire itself. As we have seen, this rested not so much on a legal basis, or even on the right of conquest, as on a sort of mutual understanding, one party to which was the Papacy. The rights and duties of the new Empire were left undetermined, for that Empire was the resultant of memories and dreams and of hopes mistaken for facts. Its strength lay in its appeal to men's imagi-

nation, in its emphasis of continuity with a past to which men looked back as to a golden age. We need not wonder that in actual power it always fell short of its claims.

In theory the Western world acknowledged one overlord. In actual fact, not only Spain and England, but even France, cared little what new Germanic Caesar was the ghostly representative of a dead power. This weakness of the Empire gave to the popes their chance—a weakness accentuated by the fact that the emperors were invariably, though not of necessity, Germans, whose hands were busy at home and whose visits to Italy were limited, as a rule, to the journey to Rome to receive the imperial crown. Here and there arose an emperor who turned the dream into fact; but in general the history of the Empire is the history of sovereigns whose power to make good their claims grew steadily less, while that of their rivals, the bishops of Rome, grew yearly in strength.

The student would do well to remember that in the Middle Ages antagonism between Church and State did not exist, at any rate in theory. No thinker then hesitated to affirm that the very existence of the Roman, that is, universal, Church was bound up and one with the very existence of the Roman, that is, catholic, Empire. If the former were eternal the latter must be so also: one world dominion inseparably connected with one spiritual dominion, the two but different aspects of the same thing. For this belief there was, in fact, an historical justification. Christianity and the Roman Empire had risen together. Both were the emphasis of universal humanity, the striving after one common citizenship. By the barbarians also Christianity had been associated from the first with the Roman Empire as its visible unity and bulwark.

There is this further justification that in the ancient world religious and political divisions usually went hand in hand together. The organic principle in all social and national life was the religious belief. The chief basis, therefore, of national unity must be a common religious life. Of this unity of world dominions though there were kings many and lords many, yet was there but one head, the emperor; so of the unity of the one world religion, though there were bishops many and metropolitans many, yet was there but one head, the pope. Of the pope, the supreme duty was to save men's souls; of the emperor, to care for their bodies. But as body and soul are but one, so also are emperor and pope in their mutual dependence. The one was the antitype of the other; the emperor a civil pope, the pope a spiritual emperor. The seat of dominion of both lay in the City on the Seven Hills. There were they crowned as the elect of God; there they received their commission, not through men, or even through one another, but direct from the King of Kings. At their coronation both pope and emperor called God to witness that he would cherish and defend the other. Against this union the gates of hell should not prevail. They were the two swords of which Christ had said, "It is enough."

Pope and emperor were thus supposed to be two and yet one. Severance between the two was impossible; they must work together for the one common good of the one common flock. But this complete accord of the papal and imperial powers was attained only thrice during the life of Charlemagne and Leo III, under Otto III and his two popes, Gregory V and Sylvester II, and thirdly under Henry III. At all other times pope and emperor were seeking to subordinate the other to himself, the pope declaring that he made the emperor as the Vicar of God and that the temporal power was his gift, the emperors seeking to get the election of popes into their own hands and to subordinate spiritual to civil authority. This battle forms the center round which revolve the churchmanship and politics of the Middle Ages.

In the struggle both parties found that a man's foes are they of his own household: the emperor, in the dukes and princes of Germany seeking to throw off all feudal dependence, and welcoming for this purpose the papal thunders; the pope, in the nobles and mob of the city of Rome ever looking to the power beyond the Alps to deliver them from the control of the sovereign within their gates. Nor ought we to forget as one element in this conflict of centuries that

the public opinion of Europe—to use a modern phrase—was undoubtedly expressed in brief by Gregory IV when he wrote to a cousin of Charles the Great: "You ought not to be ignorant that the government of souls, which belongs to the pontiff, is above that of temporal matters, which belongs to the emperors."

CHAMPION OF THE PAPAL POWER

His effective assertion of the papal supremacy in temporal affairs the world over is the outstanding fact in the pontificate of Innocent III who reigned from 1198 to 1216. All the European monarchs felt and bowed to his power in turn, while in the Church itself his authority exceeded that of any of his predecessors.

Church of the Sacro Speco, Subiaco; photo, Moscioni

WITH the accession of the greatest of the popes, Gregory VII (1073-85), better known by his name of Hildebrand, this idea of the supreme value of the Papacy reached its highest development. The age was longing for reform. On all hands there were signs of the breaking of a new day, a longing for a higher standard of life, especially among the clergy. The conscience of Europe was awaking. The strength of Hildebrand lay in the appeal he made to this new desire for righteousness, the practical wisdom with which he developed the ideas expounded by dreamers, or used as his instruments the forces around him.

During the twenty years before he was acclaimed as bishop of Rome he had been the power behind the throne directing the reforming energies of Leo IX and choosing his successors. Then, on his election to the chair of St. Peter (April 22, 1073), he deemed the time had come to carry out his whole design. In place of the Holy Roman Empire with its dual leadership, he had the idea of the United States of the World with the bishop of Rome as the supreme head over the various kings and governors.

Not content with asserting pretensions that would inevitably bring the Papacy into conflict with all secular authority, Hildebrand attempted to purge the Church from two great evils. In spite of an indifferent episcopate, he enforced celibacy upon the clergy, thus establishing for the secular priesthood the monastic ideal. A harder task was the rooting out of simony. With characteristic thoroughness Hildebrand struck at its root, the system of lay investiture which had made the bishop through feudal bonds the tool of kings. The passions which Hildebrand aroused by his measures were intense, but he entered undeterred into a struggle with the Empire for the enforcement of his ideals.

He summoned the emperor, Henry IV, to answer before him for his alleged crimes, and on his refusal absolved all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and finally called on the German princes to elect a new ruler. Hildebrand's triumph was completed at Canossa, the home of his protector, Matilda of Tuscany. For three days the emperor, abandoned by all, stood in the snow bare of foot, clad only in his shirt, knocking in vain at the gate of the castle, imploring that he might be admitted to kiss the pope's foot and receive his pardon. At last, on the fourth day, still barefoot and in his shirt alone, the son of the great Henry III was brought before the "little old man" and promised with the most sacred oaths all that Hildebrand demanded (January 28, 1077).

But the pride of Hildebrand had overreached itself. Within a month Henry, with fears at rest and a mind that had gained strength and perseverance from his trials, was meditating the overthrow of his great antagonist. Henceforth we see him taking the aggressive, seeking in every way with caution and skill to undo the past. On the other hand, Hildebrand became daily entangled more and more in difficulties and danger. By an indecision scarcely characteristic or worthy, he kindled in Germany a civil war. Both sides claimed that he had broken faith, and cast upon him the responsibility for the untold slaughter that took place on the Saxon plains.

The dark tale of the struggle in Germany, with its torrents of blood and its ravaged lands, is itself the best comment on the fallibility even of an absolutely infallible pope. For three years the victor of Canossa was besieged within his own city. But the pope's defiance only rose higher with danger.

With the foe at his gates he issued his dictates to Europe as in the days of his unclouded prosperity. When at last the city was betrayed to the enemy the indomitable old man retired to San Angelo until rescued by an army of Normans and Saracens, who forced Henry to retreat, pillaged Rome and sold thousands of its citizens into slavery. Sick at heart Gregory sought a refuge at Salerno. He was conscious that the end had come.

On his death-bed he reviewed before the kneeling cardinals the incidents of his life. There was no faltering in his belief in the justice of his cause, no hesitation in his emphasis of the great principles which had regulated his life. 'My confidence,' he murmured, 'is in this one thing only: I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity. And yet for this I die in exile.' 'Nay,' cried a bishop, 'in exile, vicar of Christ, thou canst not die. Thou hast received the nations for thy inheritance.' The reply came too late; that mighty spirit had already passed away (May 25, 1085).

Its innumerable ramifications preclude the task of narrating the weary struggle after Hildebrand's death. Until Innocent III there arose no pope able to draw his bow; nevertheless his policy was adopted in the main and became the guiding principle of the Papacy. With the incoming of the fourteenth century the Hildebrandine conceptions received a fatal set-back through the arrogance of Boniface VIII, the rise of the new nationalism, the Babylonish Captivity of the Papacy at Avignon and the subsequent disastrous Schism. But the bishops of Rome never departed from the main principles laid down by Hildebrand.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XVII

A.D.
867 Accession of Basil I, the Macedonian.
England: Danish conquest of Northumbria.
871 England: "Year of Battles." Alfred king.
872 Harold Fairhair founds Norwegian kingdom. Norsemen colonize Iceland.
875 Lewis II d. Charles the Bald emperor.
876 Lewis the German d. His sons share Germany.
Basil II takes up Saracen war in South Italy.
877 Charles the Bald d. Louis II king of France.
878 Alfred defeats Danes at Ethandune; Danelaw established by Treaty of Wedmore.
Saracens take Syracuse, completing conquest of Sicily.
879 Louis III and Carloman kings of France.
Charles the Fat, of Swabia, k. of Italy.
886 Northmen besiege Paris.
Leo VI, the Wise, succeeds Basil I.
887 Arnulf elected German king.
888 Odo count of Paris elected French k. Permanent separation of France from Empire.
898 Odo d. Charles the Simple k. of France.
899 Magyar incursion into Italy.
900 *or* 901 Alfred d. Edward the Elder k. of England.
901 Berengar of Friuli k. of Italy.
901-5 Contest of Berengar with Lewis of Arles, who is crowned emperor.
905 Berengar expels Lewis.
905-925 Sancho I founds kingdom of Navarre.
909 Fatimid khalifate proclaimed at Kairwan.
910 Magyars defeat Lewis the Child.
911 Lewis d. Conrad I of Franconia elected German k.
Lorraine joins the Carolingian kingdom of France.
Rollo duke of Normandy.
912 Abd er-Rahman III emir of Cordova.
915 Saracens in Campania crushed.
918 Conrad I d. Henry I the Fowler of Saxony German king.
923 Charles the Simple deposed; Rudolf of Burgundy k. of France. Lorraine reverts to Germany.
924 Henry I makes nine years' truce with Magyars.
925 Athelstan king of England.
928 Abd er-Rahman III assumes Khalifate of the West.
933 Egypt independent under the Ikshidis.
Henry I wars successfully with Magyars.
936 Rudolf d. Louis IV d'Outremer recalled and made k. of France by Hugh the Great, count of Paris.
Henry I d. His son Otto I German king.
937 Athelstan shatters a northern coalition at Brunanburh.
948 Ludolf son of Otto I made duke of Swabia.
950 Advance of Leon and Castile against Saracens.
951 Otto I annexes Italy.
952 Rebellion of Ludolf and Conrad of Lorraine.
954 Lothair succeeds Louis IV.
955 Otto I reconciled with German rebels; defeat of Magyars at Lechfeld.
956 Hugh the Great, duke of France, succeeded by Hugh Capet.
958 Edgar the Peaceful k. of England.
959 Constantine VII d. Romanus II emperor.
961 Romanus recovers Crete from Saracens; Syrian campaign.
Otto I goes to Italy to restore order.
962 Otto crowned emperor at Rome.
963 Otto deposes Pope John XII; makes Leo VII pope.
Romanus II d. Nicephorus emperor.
965 Nicephorus recovers Cyprus from Saracens.
968 Nicephorus recovers Antioch.
969 Fatimid khalifate established in Egypt.
John Zimisces murders Nicephorus. Russians under Sviatoslav invade Bulgaria and Thrace.

A.D.
971 Zimisces defeats Russians; Russian treaty.
972 Marriage of Theophano and Otto II.
973 Otto I d. Otto II succeeds.
975 Sancho the Great succeeds to Navarre, which he makes the leading Christian power in Spain.
Syrian campaign of John Zimisces.
976 Zimisces d. Basil II reigns till 1025.
978 Otto II demonstrates in France.
979 Ethelred the Redeless ("Unready") king of England.
980 Lothair surrenders all claims in Lorraine.
987 Hugh Capet elected king of France. Beginning of Capet dynasty.
991 Olaf Trygvessen raids England.
992 Samuel k. of Bulgaria, begins Bulgarian war.
994 Olaf and Sweyn Fork-beard raid England.
995 Robert II succeeds Hugh as king of France.
997 Stephen (Saint) king of Hungary.
998 Mahmud of Ghazni succeeds Sabuktagin.
999 Sylvester II pope. Reforming activity.
1000 Leif the Norseman discovers Labrador.
1001 Mahmud's first invasion of Punjab.
1002 Massacre of Danes in England.
Otto III d. Henry II German king.
1003 Sweyn Fork-beard invades England.
1013 Sweyn king of Denmark and England.
1014 Canute king of Denmark and England.
Henry II crowned emperor at Rome.
Basil II destroys the Bulgar army.
1017 Norman adventurers in Italy take part against the Byzantines in the south.
1022 Armenian campaigns of Basil II.
1024 Henry II d. Conrad II "the Salic" German king.
1028 Canute adds Norway to his Scandinavian empire.
1030 Mahmud of Ghazni d.
1031 Henry I king of France.
1033 Burgundy (Arles) incorporated with Germany.
1034 Romanus III d. Zoe with Michael IV.
1035 Sancho the Great d.
Canute d. Partition of his empire.
William the Conqueror (aged eight) duke of Normandy.
1039 Conrad II d. Henry III German king.
1042 Michael IV d. Zoe with Constantine IX.
Edward the Confessor king of England.
1045 Three rival popes. Rome appeals to emperor.
1046 Henry deposes all three popes; names Clement II.
1048 Henry nominates Bruno to Papacy; Bruno, having made canonical election a condition of acceptance, becomes Leo IX.
1052 Hungarian independence acknowledged.
1053 Normans in alliance with Papacy after defeating Leo at Civitate.
1054 Theodora empress at Constantinople.
1055 Victor II pope.
1058 Malcolm III, having overthrown Macbeth, establishes royal line of Scotland.
1059 Nicholas II pope. Lateran Council establishes College of Cardinals.
Seljuk Turks under Tughril master Bagdad as protectors of Abbasid khalif.
1060 Philip I king of France.
First invasion of Sicily by Roger.
Tughril invades Armenia.
1061 German bishops elect antipope Honorius.
1063 Alp Arslan succeeds Tughril as Great Sultan.
1066 Hastings. William of Normandy k. of England.
1071 Norman conquest of England completed.
Normans in Italy take Bari, ending Byzantine occupation.
Romanus defeated at Manzikert by Alp Arslan, who is succeeded as Seljuk sultan by Malik Shah.
1073 Sulayman takes Nicæa.

THE NATIONS IN BEING: 867—1073

THE Western Empire was now clearly a combination of three distinct groups: the Italian which was Latin with no more than a vein of German running through it; the Gallic, also Latin with a difference, but with a distinct tincture of German; and the German with the merest tincture of Latin. Moreover, these groups correspond to genuine geographical areas. The Italian is separated from both the others by the barrier of the Alpine mountain passes. North of the Alps there is no equivalent barrier between the Gallic or French group on the west and the German group on the east, though the Rhine may be regarded as providing a line of demarcation.

Source of Innumerable Wars

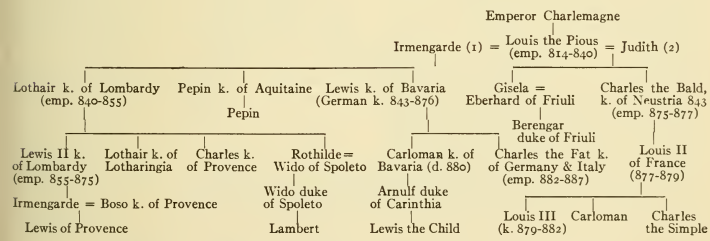
CONSEQUENTLY, between German and Gallic lay a broad belt from the Alps to the North Sea which belonged definitely to neither group, but had affinities with both; there is no natural unity in the group itself; it breaks up, and the sections tend to absorption in either the Gallic or the German group—a process which was to be a main source of innumerable wars.

In 875 the male line of the senior branch of the Carolingians or Karlings, the house of Lothair I, has already come to an end. At this point Charles the Bald annexes the title of emperor and the kingdom of Italy. Next year (876) Lewis the German dies, and his German kingdom is divided between his three legitimate sons. Next year (877) dies Charles the Bald, the last of the sons of Louis the Pious, leaving his whole realm to his one son, Louis II of France, who dies in 879, leaving two sons, Louis III and Carloman; a third (known as Charles the Simple) was born after his death.

There is a rapid succession of deaths, until in 884 the legitimate king of France was the child Charles the Simple. Rather than face the dangers of a regency, France offered her crown to Charles the Fat, who thus for a period of three unhappy years became the last sole king of all the Franks.

In 887 Charles the Fat died, immediately after surrendering his German crown to his nephew Arnulf, duke of Carinthia, the illegitimate but efficient son of his dead elder brother. Charles the Simple, now eight years old, took refuge in England, but, besides the illegitimate Arnulf, there were three princes whose mothers were Karlings—Lewis who at this moment succeeded his father Boso as king of Provence, Berengar duke of Friuli, and Wido (Guido) duke of Spoleto. All the four and also Lambert the son of Wido were at various times crowned emperors.

But the actual immediate result of the death of Charles the Fat was that the French nobles elected as their king one of their own number, Odo the warrior



FAMILY COMPLICATIONS OF THE CAROLINGIAN IMPERIAL HOUSE

REDISTRIBUTION OF THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE AFTER BREAK-UP OF CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE

Geographical as well as racial facts largely determined the resettlement of western Europe after the disintegration of the Empire of Charlemagne. In the west was Gallic France, separated by the Rhine from Teutonic Germany and by the Pyrenees from the Iberian Peninsula now under Mahomedan dominion. The Danube provided the northern boundary of the Eastern Roman Empire. Northmen from Scandinavia reached France, there to become the Normans who gave England her kings and founded the Norman kingdom of Sicily.

count of Paris; the Germans got, what they much needed, a vigorous and capable king in Arnulf.

Charles the Simple was restored on Odo's death in 899 and reigned at intervals for the next thirty years. But in 924 he was the only Karling left. So vanished all who could even pretend to the name of Karling, save the uncertain occupant of the French throne; and for seven years after the death of Charles in 929, the reigning king of France was not his son but was Rudolf of Burgundy.

An aimless, wearisome, meaningless welter! But it had incidentally allowed not a conquest but a penetration of France by the Northmen which materially influenced her future development by transmuting Vikings into Normans; and at a later stage this Norman development in France had an immense influence on the development of England, of Italy and of the Western world's civilization in general.

On the other hand, during the half-century under immediate consideration, from 867 to 918, the Northman had not yet become a Norman; he was one of the barbaric forces which were increasing the welter. By the end of the half-century he had established his footing in France, where alone he was to be transformed into a Norman; he had established his footing in England; he had been beaten off in Germany; and he was establishing himself on the border of the Eastern Empire as the Varangian or Russian, the name which was later to be transferred to the Slavonic or Mongolian tribes whom he was now dominating.

Effects of the Northmen's Raids

Most noteworthy, however, is an effect of the raids, as distinguished from the settlement, of the Northmen. The local nobles were left by the Karling kings to protect their lands and their dependents as best they could. The "hosts" of the Northmen fought as a highly mobile mounted infantry, planting palisaded camps from which the raiders issued and to which they retreated. The nobles countered with troops of heavy cavalry, while they developed their own headquarters into strongholds impregnable to assault. Hence the noble's house became a castle, and he himself became the permanent captain of a standing troop of heavy cavalry.

LONDON PENNY OF ALFRED THE GREAT

Succeeding his brother Ethelred as king of Wessex in 871, Alfred (849-901) was saddled with the task of quelling the Danes. By 878 he had forced on them the treaty of Wedmore, and by 885 had captured London, where this penny was struck bearing the monogram "Londinia" on the reverse.

British Museum

Odo held the crown till his death, but he had to fight hard for it in his latter years, which demonstrated the insecurity of the title by election. The great nobles would not submit to a king who was only one of themselves with no ancestral claim to superiority. They made a figure-head of the young Carolingian Charles, the posthumous son of Charles the Bald, to whom they restored the crown but not the old authority when Odo died in 898, since Odo's brother Robert did not choose to contest the succession. It was therefore Charles the Simple who in 911 made terms with the Viking Rollo or Rolf and settled him with his followers in Normandy, there to become well-nigh the mightiest of all the feudatory nobles.

In the same year died Arnulf's son, Lewis the Child. Germany had to revert to election and chose Conrad of Franconia, while Lotharingia, clinging to the idea of a Karling, gave a temporary allegiance to Charles the Simple. Since the death of Arnulf there had been no leadership; the Slavs were surging into German lands, and a new group of eastern barbarians, the

Magyars, who had overrun the Avars, were threatening Bavaria.

Throughout the nominal reign of Lewis the Child (899-911) and that of Conrad (911-918) the German nobles were fighting each other for their own hand, or singly and unsupported against the barbarian invaders. But on Conrad's death the Franconian house was public-spirited enough to withdraw its own claim to the succession and give its support to its rival, Saxony; and Henry the Fowler, duke of Saxony, became king of the Germans (918-936).

Danish Invasions of England

During this half-century Harold Fairhair was steadily overcoming all his many rivals and building up a monarchy in Norway. During the same period the Vikings who raided the coasts and estuaries of France and penetrated into the Mediterranean went thither not by command of either the Norse or the Danish king, but very largely to escape from the yoke which those kings were endeavoring to lay upon them. So it was also with the Danes, who in 866 were taking the first step in their great invasion of England.

Ethelred of Wessex, third of the sons of the pious Ethelwulf, had just succeeded to the overkingship of England. The Danish hosts directed their opening attack not on Wessex but on the subkingdoms of East Anglia and Northumbria. In 867 they mastered Northumbria; after a pause they overran East Anglia and slew the king, S. Edmund, in 870. Then they fell upon Wessex. The year 871 is known as the Year of Battles; on the whole the Danes would seem to have had rather the worse of the fighting. There was a truce and they fell back from Wessex, though not without a handsome subsidy.

Alfred, the fourth brother, had succeeded Ethelred during the year. In 876 began the decisive struggle which after alternating vicissitudes was ended by Alfred's victory at Ethandune and the Treaty of Wedmore in 878 confirmed in 884 by "Guthrum's Fryth."

By the treaty the Danes held what they had conquered—roughly the lands east and north of the great road called Watling Street, from the River Lea in the southeast to the River Dee in the northwest, an area known thereafter as the Danelaw, while they became officially Christians and in some sort acknowledged the overlordship of Wessex. After that the land enjoyed comparative peace, since the Danish colony for the most part declined to help their viking countrymen in attacks on Wessex, and Wessex itself was so organized by its extremely sagacious and far-sighted king that it could hold its own securely both by sea and land against any attack that could be brought against it; though Alfred's very able son Edward the Elder and his sons after him did not find it an easy matter to convert their shadowy overlordship into definite sovereignty.

Alfred was an extremely practical statesman, who created a fleet which beat the sea-rovers on their own element, codified the laws so as to harmonize diversities of custom, modified them so as to bring them into conformity with the most advanced ideas of justice, fostered education with a judicious zeal and set the highest standards of public and private morality; an idealist who could face adversity and apparent failure indomitably and victoriously, yet had the courage to recognize practical limitations instead of shutting his eyes to them. When he died in 900 he left his England at a height of prosperity and security such as no other land enjoyed; not yet unified, indeed, but much nearer to unity than it had ever been before, or than any contemporary kingdom. That is a record which fully justifies the title of "The Great," bestowed on him alone among English monarchs out of the love of his people.

Though the Northmen were already raiding the Mediterranean shores, the Saracen was still the main menace in the south. In the west, Charles Martel had stopped the onrush; Pepin had driven it back over the Pyrenees; Charlemagne had pressed it across the Ebro, while the stubborn invincibles of the old population, Gothic, Roman and Iberian, held out defiantly in Asturias, the northwest corner. The Spanish March was still nominally a province of the Frank dominion, but was on the way to become the independent Christian kingdom of Aragon.

In the ninth century, however, there was little coöperation between the Frankish governors of the March and the Gothic princes of the west. The leaders

who were step by step forcing the Saracens southward, making the Douro a boundary corresponding to the Ebro, were the Alfonsos (Gothic Hildefuns) of Asturias and the Gascon Sancho, who among them were creating Leon, Castile and Navarre when the ninth century closed. The factions among the Mahomedans paralyzed the Emir at Córdova for effective resistance to the slowly creeping tide: though in 928 Abd er-Rahman III assumed officially the title of khalif. The Aglabids were firmly established in Sicily. Their advance in South Italy, when it threatened to become an effective conquest, had been held up by the emperor Lewis II. But their expulsion was still unaccomplished when Lewis died prematurely in 875. The task, however, was taken up by Basil the Macedonian, emperor of the East, the titular emperors and kings in the West being otherwise occupied, mainly fighting one another.

OTTO III: IMPERIAL MYSTIC AND DREAMER

This miniature from a copy of the Gospels at Munich belonging to Otto III (980-1002) depicts that emperor enthroned with priests and knights beside him and suggests his devotional character. An idealist who tried to revive the old conception of the Roman Empire, he proved inadequate to his position.

From Schlumberger, "L'épopée byzantine" (Hachette)

Eastern Empire and the Saracens

Basil's fleet drove the Corsairs off the seas; his armies swept the Saracens out of Calabria; but in Sicily he failed altogether, and he too died in 886, before he could expel them from Campania; nor was there anyone left to carry on the work when he was gone. There the Saracens remained; and if Italy was not conquered, it was mainly because they were satisfied with robbery and loot and were at no pains to organize a dominion. The Papacy, which in conjunction with Lewis had played no small part in the battle, was now falling upon evil days, successive popes proving themselves nothing more than most unspiritual faction leaders or agents. It was not till 916 that Berengar of Frinli, emperor at last, made common cause with the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento and blotted out the Saracen hornets' nest in Campania.

Basil had made himself emperor by murdering the man who had raised him to power while his victim lay in a drunken sleep; a piece of villainy which proved highly profitable to the Empire. He reorganized the finances; he directed the administration with vigor and substantial justice; he recovered territories, long lost in the east, from the tottering Khalifate; he rescued South Italy from the Saracens; his fleets recaptured the mastery of the Mediterranean; he so rehabilitated the government that its machinery again worked with automatic success through

the long reigns of his descendants who took little interest in their duties.

Basil's son Leo the Wise (886-912) (so called mainly because he was an authority on witch craft) was followed by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (912-959) who became emperor at the age of five, and was officially or unofficially set aside or reinstated at intervals; commerce and the arts of peace flourished, and still the Empire enjoyed an inglorious prosperity; for its machinery was adequate to hold the European barbarians on its borders in check, and the power of Bagdad had lapsed into a woeful decrepitude. Neither in the East nor in Europe was there any serious onslaught to be combated.

The Germanic Holy Roman Empire

THE complete disappearance of the Karling line in Germany compelled either the dissolution of the German kingdom into its component parts or the election of a new head. Germany was in five great divisions or dukedoms: Saxony on the north, Franconia and Lotharingia on the west, Swabia on the southwest, Bavaria on the southeast, corresponding to fairly marked racial distinctions, Franconia and Lotharingia being mainly Frankish. But Lotharingia was disposed to hold by the western Carolingian rather than depart from the Carolingian tradition. For the time it joined itself to France, though its stronger German affinities pulled it back to the German kingdom before long. The Franks, however, had an historic claim to hegemony among the Germans. The fact was recognized in the election of Conrad duke of Franconia as German king in 911 but when Conrad died it was his own brother and heir who in 918 nominated Henry of Saxony, as Conrad's successor, and stood by him with unfailing loyalty.

The election was justified by the event. The new king was fully aware that premature attempts to enforce an unestablished authority conferred on him not as a right, but by the doubtful acquiescence of three magnates, each of whom was otherwise as powerful as himself, would merely plunge Germany into a prolonged and doubtful civil war. Both Swabia and Bavaria would certainly defy dictation from him. He left them in practical independence, though formally they were in his allegiance, till his personal achievements had manifestly warranted his title. Happily for him, and much to the credit of the Franconian nobles, he could count securely upon them in his primary task, the defense of the North German marches against Slavs and Magyars; while the Danes found other occupation than attacks on Saxony, which had already proved a harder nut than they could crack.

Magyar Inroads into Bavaria

THE Magyars were of a non-Aryan stock. They had driven their way into the old land of the Avars, which became their permanent home at the close of the ninth century, led by their own national hero Arpad; they had broken into Italy in 899; and from the first years of the tenth century they had turned their devastating attention mainly on Bavaria. The Magyar horsemen had penetrated as far west as Coblenz and even Basel.

It was not until 924 that the Magyars made the first onslaught on North Germany, to find that Henry the Fowler was their match. He did not indeed beat them decisively, but they were glad to make a nine years' truce on terms of a tribute being paid to them; which suited Henry for the time because of trouble with Gorm the Old, king of Denmark, and with the Wends between the Elbe and the Oder.

The Mark of Brandenburg

HAVING thus temporarily disposed of the Magyars, Henry completed a settlement with Gorm, who had to pay him tribute, and proceeded to the subjugation of the Wends. It was perhaps in the organization of the new march which he annexed, the "Mark of Brandenburg," that Henry rendered his most valuable defensive service to Germany. All over the new districts he planted his Saxons and Franks on the soil, the center of each colony being a new walled town with a standing garrison, which became also the local center of trade, an object secondary in importance only to the provision of garrisons.

Henry's frontiers were so strengthened thereby that he was able to make his authority more decisively felt in the southern and western duchies—for Lotharingia had reverted to Germany. But it was left to his son to complete the establishment of the central authority.

Accession of Otto the Great

HENRY never claimed the imperial title, though he stands in the list of the emperors as Henry I. At his death in 936 he nominated as his successor his eldest legitimate son, Otto I the Great (936-973). The first years of Otto's reign were spent in fighting for his crown against the pretensions of his brothers, Thankmar and Henry; while his bold assertion of the supreme authority, over which his father had been so cautious, carried strong antagonistic elements to the side of the rebels.

Otto was a zealous and pious churchman, but of the type which never dreamed of subordinating imperial to ecclesiastical authority; the prelates were the natural allies of the crown against the pretensions of the hereditary lay lords, who were as jealous of their privileges as of royal encroachments.

The rebellion of Otto's brothers was the outcome of the irritation of the dukes at Otto's uncompromising assertion of the royal authority, and of Saxon displeasure at his pan-German attitude. He declined to be a Saxon ruling over Franks and Bavarians, as his father had been; he chose to be the German head of a German nation without distinction between its component peoples. The brothers headed the revolt which broke out in Saxony in 938, and were soon joined by the dukes of Franconia, Bavaria and Lotharingia. Thankmar soon died, but the struggle was maintained with varying fortunes till 941, when Henry made final submission and was generously enough received into the king's favor.

In the course of the contest three of the dukes had fallen; the victorious Otto appropriated Franconia, made his pardoned brother Henry duke of Bavaria, bestowed Lotharingia on his own son-in-law, the Frank Conrad the Red, and made his own eldest but still very youthful son Ludolf duke of Swabia, Henry and Ludolf each marrying the daughter or sister of his own predecessor in the dukedom. But, though all the dukes were members of the royal family, they were without the privileges of which Henry the Fowler had not ventured to deprive the earlier dukes, and in each duchy there was a count palatine, an officer appointed by the crown to safeguard its own interests. Otto was truly king of the Germans.

Magyar Menace Disposed of

THE rival ambitions of Henry and young Ludolf in Italy led to the intervention of Otto; plans, which spurred Ludolf to revolt against his father in a coalition with Conrad of Lotharingia and the archbishop of Mainz; a civil war raged during 953; and though the rebels made submission, the Magyars seized the opportunity to develop an invasion of Germany in force. It was their last. In the face of the common menace, the Germans united; and Otto shattered the Magyar army at the decisive battle of Lechfeld (955). As in the north in Brandenburg, a new march was organized, the Ostmark—Austria. Lechfeld stayed the Magyar menace once for all.

In Italy, whither the quarrel of Ludolf and Henry had drawn him, Otto had rescued a princess in distress and taken her to be his second wife. The lady was Adelaide of Burgundy, the fair widow of Lothair of Provence, who had died while fighting with Berengar of Ivrea, the grandson of the emperor Berengar, for the crown of Italy. Berengar took her prisoner; she appealed to the dukes of Bavaria and Swabia; both came to her aid, but as rivals, not as colleagues, each intent on winning the Italian crown for himself. Otto, having no mind to let a German duke become king of Italy, intervened himself, released Adelaide and married her, gave the crown to Berengar as his vassal and a border district of Friuli to Henry of Bavaria (951), and very soon after, as we have seen, found himself at war with his own disappointed son.

The battle with the Magyars effected a general reconciliation. But in Otto's absence quarrels arose between Berengar and Pope John XII. John appealed to Otto, and Otto, having already decided that he must have the Papacy at his disposal for his own ecclesiastical ends in Germany, seized his opportunity. Berengar retreated, Otto entered Rome, and John discovered that he had called to his aid not a servant but a master.

Imperial Mastery Over the Papacy

JOHN, as a matter of course, acceded to Otto's demand that he should be crowned emperor (962); the emperor Otto proceeded to confirm the Papacy

EPISODES IN THE NORMAN CONQUEST AS DEPICTED IN THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY

Executed to the order of William the Conqueror's half-brother, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the so-called Bayeux Tapestry is contemporary with the Norman Conquest of England and the primary authority on the Norman case. It comprises seventy-two scenes. Here from left to right are (above) Edward enthroned, Harold taking an oath upon a reliquary to support the claims of William to the English throne, and the death of Edward; and (below) Harold crowned at Westminster with Archbishop Stigand beside him, and the death of Harold at the battle of Hastings.

in possession of all the lands that had been conveyed or secured to it, known as the Patrimony of St. Peter, but with reservation of the imperial supremacy, and with a further declaration that no papal election was valid till the candidate had taken the oath of allegiance to the emperor. Later Otto deposed John on a variety of well-founded criminal charges, and set up a new pope, Leo VIII. Before Otto left Italy he had the young son (Otto II) whom Adelaide had borne to him crowned emperor also (967).

Otto at the end of his long and strenuous reign was a potentate far more powerful than any known since Charlemagne. He had mastered the dukes; he had mastered the Papacy. He had extended and organized the marches of the Empire under counts owing no allegiance to the dukes but directly responsible to the crown. He had finally disposed of the Magyar menace and the Slavs beyond the borders paid him tribute. In his very last days he procured as bride for his son a princess of the Eastern Empire, Theophano, who brought as her dower the Italian lands that had hitherto remained in the Byzantine allegiance.

In 973 Otto the Great died in Germany, by no means an old man. The son who succeeded him, Otto II (973-983), was only eighteen, and his capacities were unproved. But he promptly suppressed a rebellion raised by his cousin, the second Henry ("the Quarrelsome") of Bavaria.

Then he set about the conquest of South Italy, in one part of which the Greek towns were showing no disposition to accept their transfer from the Eastern to the Western Empire, while in another the Saracens were still in possession. In 981 and 982 he achieved a series of successes till he was ambushed and most of his forces cut to pieces in Calabria. He himself made an adventurous escape, and the disaster only roused him, and the Italians and Germans alike, to a fresh united effort in what was now regarded as a sacred war. But Otto died suddenly in 983, at the age of twenty-eight, before the preparations for the great campaign were completed. The infant Otto III (983-1002) had already been elected to the succession.

The regency was placed with the widow Theophano. The emperor's death prevented the prosecution of the Saracen war; Henry the Quarrelsome reappeared; bishops dominated the situation, and though very far from being in accord with each other they did succeed in effecting an uneasy pacification till the young emperor came of age and proceeded to Rome for his official coronation by the pope in 996.

Otto, half German and half Greek, was a born idealist with a vivid imagination, an active and receptive brain and the unmeasured enthusiasm of sixteen for his ideals. He was accompanied on his Italian journey by his dearest friend, an idealist as ardent as himself, and not much older, his cousin Bruno. While they were on the way the pope died. On Otto's nomination Bruno was forthwith elected pope as Gregory V. Gregory crowned Otto emperor, and the youthful pair started confidently to set the world to rights in accordance with their somewhat visionary ideals.

Three years later Gregory died, but Otto had ready to take his place Gerbert of Aurillac, a reformer no less ardent, but already advanced in years and long reputed to be so abnormally learned that he was suspected of being a wizard. So Gregory V was succeeded by Sylvester II. The emperor and the pope were thenceforth to rule the world in perfect harmony as God's vice-gerents, of course with the Holy and Imperial City as its center. Kings would bow before them in acknowledgment of their divine mission and authority.

They did not reform the world. Otto died at two-and-twenty in 1002; Sylvester followed him to the grave next year. The emperor's Roman ideals were wholly incompatible with the needs of the German kingdom. The Papacy relapsed into the hands of the counts of Tusculum. The next German king, Henry of Bavaria, the son of the "Quarrelsome" Duke, was crowned as Emperor Henry II (1002-1024); but he belonged to the German kingdom and his relations with Italy were merely perfunctory. The imperial title might help the Bavarian in Germany, but not if he tried, like the last Otto, to be an Italian instead of a German.

Henry was competent and imperturb-

able, just and tenacious, pious enough to earn the title of "the Saint." He strengthened his borders and stabilized the government, preserving the peace and maintaining his authority—in Germany. But he left Italy alone. On Henry's death the Swabian Conrad II "the Salic" (1024-1039) was elected German king.

Conrad Founds a Dynasty

Conrad made it his primary object to weaken the group, still a small one, of the greater nobles, by attaching the minor nobles directly to the crown, making the latter the "king's men," barons or vassals, over-riding or abolishing claims to their obedience on the part of the intermediary overlord, duke or count, to whom they were for the most part bound by the practice of "commendation," a mutual contract of protection and service. The method to which Conrad resorted was the application to the lesser barons of that principle of heredity on which the greater were laying such stress for themselves. On the same principle, he procured the coronation of his son, Henry, while still a boy, to secure the continuity of his dynasty.

BRONZE SEAL OF AELFRIC THE TRAITOR

This seal is identified as being that of Aelfric, the corrupt Mercian ealdorman who on two occasions whilst commander of the forces of Ethelred—in 992 at London and again in 1003—by his treachery saved the Danish host from annihilation. Ethelred's reliance upon unreliable ministers largely caused the final triumph of the Danes.

British Museum

The principal event of the reign was the inclusion in the Empire of the Arelate, Provence or Lower Burgundy, by a contract with its last king, Rudolf III. The Arelate, most romantic of lands, was for centuries to be associated with neither France nor Italy, but Germany, and to be a buffer between the two Latin countries.

Conrad was thoroughly unpopular, but almost invariably successful. He proved himself master in Germany and Italy, and he compelled the Magyars in Hungary, the Czechs in Bohemia and the rising power of the Poles to acknowledge his sovereignty. When he died in 1039, he left to carry on his work a son young but carefully trained in both war and statecraft. Conrad's practical success was demonstrated when Henry III (1039-1056) assumed the reins of power unopposed and unchallenged.

In the seventeen years of his rule Henry the Black raised the Empire to the utmost height of power it ever attained. Poles, Czechs and Magyars were subjected to a much more definite suzerainty, the first with little trouble, the other two not without hard work. The rapid and convincing subjugation of the east left the emperor free to deal with the problems of Germany and Italy. A man so strong as Henry could afford to be conciliatory where mildness in a weaker man would certainly have been misconstrued; the moral atmosphere, so to speak, was made healthier by the emperor's personality. He created public spirit by the obvious sincerity of his own public spirit, immensely to the welfare of the whole community. No one suspected his magnanimity of being a cloak either for fear or for craft.

Henry's Italian and Papal Policy

Most notable, however, were his dealings with Italy and the Papacy, which had fallen under the disreputable control of the counts of Tusculum, and before the German king turned his attention to Italy the scandal had reached such a pitch that there were three rivals at once, each of them claiming to be the legitimate pope.

In 1046 Henry answered the appeal of a synod held in Rome. He came to Italy, took matters in hand himself, summoned two successive synods, at which all the three popes were deposed, and set the German bishop of Bamberg on the papal throne as Clement II, the first of that series which culminated with the election of Gregory VII in 1073. Clement died the next year, his successor,

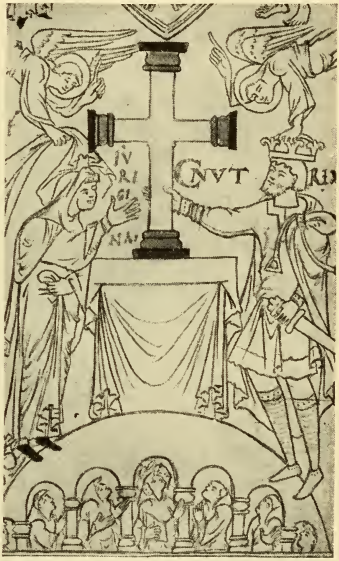
Damasus, a few month later; and then a second Bruno—a cousin of the emperor, as the first had been—became pope as Leo IX (1048). Each pope was Henry's nominee and a German. And each was a man of marked ability, of high character, and held a lofty conception of his spiritual responsibilities.

The great Henry died prematurely in 1056, not yet in his fortieth year. Once again the undisputed successor was a child of six, Henry IV. The loss was irreparable. No regency could carry the power and authority of the dead man. Nobles and prelates fell to wrangling for power, especially prelates. Young Henry was tossed like a shuttlecock from one to the other, and grew up untrained, hot-headed and self-willed, and full of resentment against everyone who had exercised control over him. Before he was twenty desultory rebellions were breaking out. He did not, in fact, become free from tutelage till 1072, and by that time Germany was in a state of confusion, to remedy which would have taxed to the utmost a prince of far stronger character than Henry IV.

Norman Adventurers in Italy

Nor was the condition of Italy any better. The last chance of consolidating a strong Lombard kingdom had disappeared when the emperor Berengar died in 924. South Italy had been a cockpit for the rivalries of Lombard lords, Saracen chiefs and Greek governors. Otto the Great himself had failed to establish his authority. Otto II had been technically sovereign of all Italy, not only Lombard but also Greek, in virtue of his marriage with Theophano, the Saracens having no recognizable status; but his first attempt to make his position good failed, and the second was strangled by his premature death. Otto III died before he had time to attempt giving practical effect to his ideals; Henry II ignored Italy; Italy almost ignored Conrad; and the energies of Henry III in the peninsula were limited to his drastic dealing with the papal problem. Further, since the second decade of the eleventh century the South Italian problem had taken a new aspect, due to the adventurers from Normandy.

The achievements of the Norman house of Hauteville in Italy, and in Sicily, where the Saracens had been at this time in full possession for nearly a century, were beginning to loom large. They were engaged in carving out a dominion for themselves, with Greeks or Lombard nobles as allies, rivals or victims, according to circumstances, when their activities brought them into conflict with the third of Henry III's popes, Leo IX,



ENGLAND'S DANISH KING CANUTE

Notwithstanding his fierce Viking nature, Canute was an earnest Christian. He is pictured in this page from the Register of New Minster or Hyde Abbey with his wife "Aelgifu"—Ethelred's widow Emma—placing a cross upon the altar.
British Museum, Stowe MSS.

the emperor having just conferred the duchy of Benevento on the Papacy. The Italians rallied to the papal standard for the crushing of the predatory aliens.

The Normans and the Reforming Papacy

But the Norman had a genius for coloring successful rapacity with piety. He desired not the hostility but the bless-

ing of the Church; and instead of pressing his victory by force of arms, he sought and obtained a reconciliation by which both the Normans and the Papacy profited mightily. The Normans became the champions of the pope against all comers, and they could reckon in return upon the papal countenance for their own ambitious projects, though at first there was no formal pact.

Leo died next year (1054), but the alliance between the Normans and the reforming Papacy remained the central fact of Italian politics. And it was a fact which did not fit in with the claims of a supreme central authority having its seat in Germany; though this was not yet apparent. The alliance may be said to have been sealed in 959, three years after the death of Henry III, when Pope Nicholas II conferred the duchy of Apulia and (by anticipation) of Sicily on Robert Guiscard as the pope's liegeman. The death of Henry prepared the way for a development of papal claims which would have been incredible while he was living.

GREAT SEAL OF THE CONFESSOR

Edward, son of Ethelred by Emma, and half-brother of Harthacnut (Hardicanute), her son by Canute, was chosen King of England in 1042. At heart a Norman and a monk he largely prepared the way for the Norman conquest.

British Museum

Leo, when Henry drew him from his bishopric of Toul to make him pope, had accepted the high office on condition that he was elected canonically, not only on the emperor's authority. He indeed magnified his office, and crowded an enormous and pervading activity into the six years of his reign, but without collision between his aims and Henry's. The imperial authority was in practical abeyance when Gerard of Florence became Nicholas II in 1058. Nicholas reigned for only three years, but in that time he held the Lateran Council which permanently placed papal elections in the hands of the College of Cardinals, claimed the power of appointing the duke of Apulia and Sicily, and vigorously extended the Cluniac discipline which the old school of ecclesiastics detested.

His successor, Alexander II, was a Cluniac who was elected, without any reference at all to the imperial authority in 1061; so that the German bishops claimed to set up an antipope, Honorius, though he could obtain little recognition outside Germany. And behind Alexander was Archdeacon Hildebrand, the inspiring genius of the theocratic movement, to whom both he and Nicholas owed their election. Not till Hildebrand succeeded in 1073 was the significance of that movement apparent.

Since the death of Charles the Simple, Odo's nephew Hugh the Great had recalled Louis IV (d'Outremer, "from over the sea" in England), the son of Charles, and set him on the throne, while himself retaining the real power as duke of France.

For fifty years Louis (936-954) and his son Lothair (954-986) made restive attempts to free themselves from the domination of Hugh the Great (who died in 956) and his son Hugh Capet, but found their astute and mighty vassals too strong. Lothair was succeeded by his son Louis V, who died next year. No man of the royal house remained; a new king from a new house must be elected; Hugh was conspicuously the first among the nobles, and as a matter of course was elected—the first king of the Capet dynasty which reigned without a break in the male line until the fall of the monarchy in the Revolution; though his grandfather had reigned for a few months

and his great-uncle for a few years.

Hugh at last became king because no other king was possible; he was in no sense a usurper; but his crown had no traditional halo. The new French monarchy was weak because the princes were not so exceptionally strong that they could overcome the inherent weakness of their position among feudatories who could on occasion command greater resources than their own.

England and the Danish Conquest

In the British Isles the development of feudalism was much less marked than in France, Germany or Italy. The stress of the struggle with the Danes in England enabled Alfred to create a strong central government, and his son and grandsons to make it effective from the Channel to the Tyne. Thus England was at the height of prosperity in the reign of Edgar the Peaceful (959-975), when the administration was in the hands of the great prelate Dunstan, who was also a zealous ecclesiastical reformer.

But in the reign of Ethelred the Redeless (or Unready) came disaster born of criminal folly and reckless misgovernment. Sweyn Forkbeard, the prince of Denmark, who was at odds with his father Harold Bluetooth, began once more to harry the English coast. Ethelred taxed the country to buy him off instead of fighting. Then he ordered a massacre of the Danes then in England; and Sweyn, having succeeded to the Danish throne, set about the conquest of England. Ethelred fled to Normandy; England was annexed to the Danish crown (1013); next year Sweyn died, and Canute, his son, became king of Denmark, England and at a later period more or less of Norway.

For a time it seemed that a great Scandinavian empire might be formed; but the elements of it were too disconnected, and it went to pieces when Canute died, wrecked by the ineradicable tradition of division among the sons. In 1042 England recalled Ethelred's pious son, Edward (the Confessor), from Normandy. He returned with a train of Norman favorites, mostly ecclesiastics, and left the administration in the hands of the great earls who were Canute's disastrous legacy to England.

For Canute, himself a strong and very able ruler, had adopted the system which under such a ruler served admirably, of appointing district rulers responsible to himself, with the Anglo-Danish title of earl, corresponding to the counts and margraves of Charlemagne and Otto.

SVIATOSLAV'S RUSSIAN TROOPS ROUTED BY BYZANTINE CAVALRY

Russians made their first appearance in Bulgaria in 967, when Nicephorus Phocas, then engaged in conflict with the Bulgarians, enlisted their assistance. Under John Zimisces Byzantine policy changed, and in 971 that emperor coöperated with Boris II in expelling the Russians who were overrunning Bulgaria under their prince Sviatoslav. Zimisces defeated them in two pitched battles, and thereafter concluded a treaty whereby the Russian became the ally of the Byzantine power.

From the MS. History of John Skylitzes; photo, G. Millet, Hautes Etudes, Sorbonne

But under an incompetent king, the earls stood to the crown as the great feudatories stood to the crown on the Continent, and as jealous rivals for power with each other. Under Edward the effective power in the state passed to the great Earl Godwin, and then to his son Harold. When Edward died in the first week of 1066, the only "ætheling" (prince of the royal house) was a child, and the time imperatively demanded a man on the throne. The Witan, the national council, reverted to the constitutional custom of election and as a result of this election Harold, son of Godwin, was crowned king.

BASIL II "SLAYER OF BULGARIANS"

Basil II (c. 958-1025), known as Bulgaroctonus from the atrocities that attended his extinction of the Bulgarian Kingdom, was a ruthless man but a capable ruler, under whom the Eastern Empire rose to great power. This miniature from a contemporary psalter depicts him in imperial costume with obsequious officials on their knees before him.

S. Mark's, Venice; from Schlumberger, "L'épopée byzantine"

But William duke of Normandy chose to consider that promises made to him by Edward and by Harold entitled him to the succession, to which he obviously had no other claim. On the other hand, Harold Hardraada of Norway saw a prize to be snatched. Both the Norseman and the Norman invaded England. The Norseman landed first; Harold Godwinson met him and slew him at Stamford Bridge, and flew south to meet the Norman and to perish in the desperately fought battle of Hastings. The other earls had failed him in the hour of England's need.

William marched on London. The Witan, or what passed for the Witan, recognized the accomplished fact and elected the Conqueror king of England. On Christmas day 1066 he was crowned. The lands of the "rebels" who had taken the field against him were distributed among the motley host which had joined his standard to overthrow the perjured king.

England did not submit altogether tamely to its new master. During the next five years there were sundry revolts; but the patriots had no common policy; all the risings were crushed with an iron hand, and each provided new excuses for further distribution of forfeited estates. After 1071, indeed, the only rebels to be found in England were Norman barons. The Norman Conquest, with all that it meant for England, was completed.

A few years before the Norman invasion, Malcolm Canmore in Scotland had overthrown the usurper (or legitimate monarch) Macbeth, and established the royal line of Scotland.

Meanwhile, east of the German kingdom the northern Slavs, in less immediate contact with the Germans, were beginning to consolidate into the kingdom of Poland, founded by Boleslav (992-1025). The Czechs of Moravia and Bohemia under the Premyslid dynasty were in constant contact with the German kings to whom they were for the most part tributary.

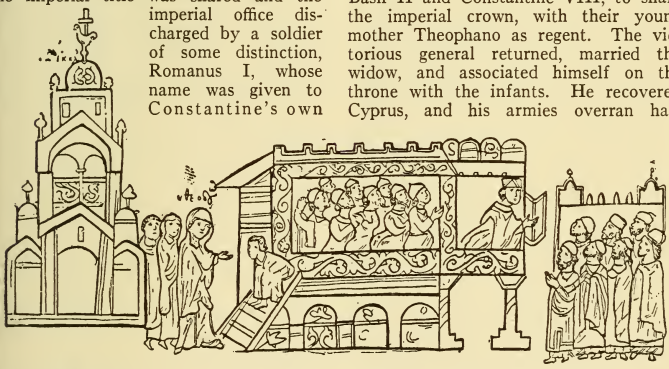
The Magyars in Hungary made great progress, politically and culturally, under Stephen I (997-1038). Magyars and Poles as well as Czechs attached themselves to the Western, not the Eastern, church.

On the east of these three nationalities, two of which were Slavonic, Swedish captains, the "Ros," set up the Slavonic dominion which presently took their name and became known as Russia.

THE Greek Empire, as we saw, continued on its placid and inglorious way through the lives of the son and grandson of Basil the Macedonian, under a trained professional bureaucracy which worked mechanically but adequately. For a great part of Constantine's long reign the imperial title was shared and the imperial office discharged by a soldier of some distinction, Romanus I, whose name was given to Constantine's own son, who succeeded to the purple in 959.

The reign of Romanus II was active but brief, inaugurating a period of military energy. The khalif at Bagdad was now the puppet of the Persian Bouid family; another family, the Hamdanids, had set up virtually independent emirates on the Greek borders at Aleppo and Mosul; a descendant of Ali, having proclaimed himself khalif at Khairwan, had absorbed the Aglabid kingdom and annexed Egypt, with part of Syria, where the Fatimid khalifate was now established. In the west there was a third khalif, since the Ommiad Abd er-Rahman III had so proclaimed himself in 928. Khorassan was rapidly falling under the sway of Turkish tribal chiefs, while the best of the Bagdad soldiery and captains were drawn from the same source. The Bouids themselves, like most Persians, were Shiahs, though they preferred calling themselves the ministers of a Sunni khalif to acknowledging the Fatimid in Egypt.

The emperor's general, Nicephorus Phocas, opened an attack in 960. Crete was recaptured, Cilicia was invaded. Romanus died in 963, leaving two infants, Basil II and Constantine VIII, to share the imperial crown, with their young mother Theophano as regent. The victorious general returned, married the widow, and associated himself on the throne with the infants. He recovered Cyprus, and his armies overran half



EMPRESS ZOE TENDERING THANKS TO THE PEOPLE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

As successive husbands of Zoe, daughter of Constantine II, Romanus Argyrus and the Paphlagonian Michael IV wielded the sceptor between 1028 and 1041. Zoe then adopted Michael Calaphates, who repaid her with imprisonment. She was released at the clamor of the populace, who cherished loyalty to her family. This illustration in the History of Skylitzes shows her leaving S. Sophia and entering the palace to thank the people. Zoe's last husband was Constantine Monomachus.

From Schlumberger, "L'épopée byzantine," Hachette

Syria. But he was extremely unpopular with the clergy and at court; Theophano repented her marriage; she entered on a conspiracy with one of Nicephorus' captains, John Zimisces; John murdered the rather terrible emperor while he slept, and proclaimed himself—without opposition—the associate of the two children. Instead of marrying their mother, he shut her up in a convent (969).

Then, like Basil the Macedonian, he atoned for his crime. He treated the boys, his colleagues, with all the respect due to their position. One of their sisters he married himself; the other became the bride of Otto II; with his own wealth he was lavish in pious charity. The Russian Sviatoslav was overrunning Bulgaria; in 971 John marched against him, defeated him in two desperate battles, and then struck a treaty, which converted the Russian power into an ally and the Russian people into Christians of the Orthodox Church. Then he went campaigning in Syria where the Saracens had been recovering ground. But his career of victory was cut short by his sudden death in 976.

Basil II, now twenty years old, admitted no new colleague to share the imperial power and dignity with his brother Constantine and himself. For nearly fifty years—till 1025—he reigned virtually alone. A new trouble had arisen in the increasing independence of territorial magnates in Asia Minor. Possibly it would have been better for the Empire had he sought to convert them into barons of the marches; but the more obvious course, which he adopted with ultimate success, was to suppress them.

But while he was thus engaged, Bulgaria, profiting by the expulsion of the Russians, was again becoming powerful and troublesome under her king Samuel whose raiders poured year by year over Macedonia. In 996 they harried the Peloponnese but suffered a disastrous defeat while retiring. In 1014 Basil won an overwhelming victory, taking 15,000 captives. He blinded those captives, all but a hundred and fifty, who were left an eye apiece to guide the rest home. So ended the first Bulgar kingdom.

Basil, now an old man, next turned his arms against Armenia—a mistake, since thereby he destroyed an effective buffer between the Empire and the Mahomedan powers. With his death in 1025 passed the revived strength and energy of the Eastern Empire. Constantine was the last prince of the Macedonian house. He followed his brother to the grave in 1028. For the next twenty-six years the emperors were the successive husbands of his daughter Zoe; during this period the last of the Greeks were being ejected from south Italy by the Norman Hautevilles, and the Eastern Empire was in effect without a ruler. For three brief years Zoe's sister, Theodora (1054-1057) did what she could to check the process of decay. In vain; for she died at the moment when the Mahomedan world was falling to the Seljuk Turks.

Meanwhile the Abbasids had been growing increasingly dependent on the mercenary troops, drawn mainly from the Turkish tribes beyond the Oxus, the most materialistic of races; to whom the Koran as literally interpreted appealed strongly in contrast with mystic interpretations.

Further, the later Abbasids were without the personal ability of the first rulers. Hence the curious spectacle of a Sunni khalif at Bagdad, in the hands of the Shiah Bouids, yet surrounded by a Sunni Turkish soldiery with whom the Bouids did not dare to quarrel; while his spiritual authority as khalif scarcely extended beyond Syria, and his temporal power was limited to a small area of which Bagdad was the center. Already Turkish commanders had for short periods turned governorships in Egypt and Syria into independent lordships; but an actual Turkish domination had not been set up for the simple reason that the adventurers had not a nation, a tribe, or even a company of sworn followers at their backs.

Even on their own ground, in the Trans-Oxus, the Turks were not a nation, though their tribes were beginning to work in concert, sometimes against the Chinese and sometimes within the Mahomedan dominion, of which they could not be called subjects, though they formed a part of it in so far as they had adopted Islam. During this same period the Khitai Tatars were penetrating North China.

Towards the close of the tenth century, however, an actual Turkish dominion was in course of establishing itself, as champion of Mahomedanism in its most fanatical form, in the farthest

lands of what had once been the empire of Alexander the Great. Its center was at Ghazni, in the modern Afghanistan. Its great figure was Mahmud of Ghazni (998-1030), mighty in war, destroyer of idols, and hardly less famous as an enlightened patron of learning, a conqueror who once more broke through the mountain barrier of India and prepared the way for the coming of Mahomedan supremacy, though he did not himself try to organize his own conquests. Ten times or more he led his fiercely fanatical troops through the mountain passes, into the Land of the Five Rivers—the Punjab—which Alexander had conquered, and on to the Ganges basin or down the Indus to Gujarat, whence he bore away the famous gates of Somnath, the great Hindu shrine; laying waste the temples, overthrowing the images of the gods and carrying off vast spoils. Famous poets and men of learning gathered at the court of Ghazni. Half Persia owned his sway, while he held off the swarms of the Turkish tribes, as Rollo or the Danes of the Danelaw held off their Viking kinsfolk.

Yet Mahmud did not create an empire. Soon after his death the Seljuk Turks broke in; the Ghaznavid dynasty did not disappear, but it was reduced by the invaders to no more than a petty principality. It was the Seljuks who became the masters of the Mahomedan world. First they made themselves masters of Khorassan. Then they advanced upon Bagdad, led by their chief Tughril, not as rebels but to deliver the khalif from the hands of the heretical Persians. The khalif was the spiritual head, whose authority it was Tughril's mission to restore, but the wielder of the sword retained the temporal power. The Bouids eventually passed, but Tughril was the Great Sultan (1055).

Asia Minor Lost to the Seljuk Turks

In 1057, Theodora died, the last of the Macedonian family. In 1059 Constantine X (Ducas), an experienced politician who was neither a soldier nor a statesman, became emperor.

In 1060 Alp Arslan, Tughril's successor, flung himself on Armenia. The Empire gave no effective aid to the country whose power Basil II had destroyed. The Seljuks overran Armenia, then flooded into Asia Minor. At last a new emperor, Romanus IV Diogenes, took up the neglected task and attacked the invader. Alp Arslan inveigled him into the mountains, fought a great pitched battle at Manzikert (1071), took him prisoner and cut his army to pieces. The Seljuks swept on, and Michael, the young colleague of Romanus, was soon after reduced to buying a respite by the cession of virtually the whole of Asia Minor.

THE VIKINGS AND THEIR VOYAGES

HOW THE STURDY SAILORS OF THE BALTIC MADE THEIR NAME FEARED FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO AMERICA

By A. MacCALLUM SCOTT

Author of Suomi the Land of the Finns, Beyond the Baltic, etc.

THE Nordic races, whose homeland and breeding ground were the shores of the Baltic Sea, have been a factor in European history from the earliest recorded times. The Baltic may be regarded as a kind of northern Mediterranean, round whose shores, during the dark millenniums before the dawn of history, developed a special racial type, with mental and moral characteristics of its own and with a distinctive culture, or primitive civilization, which has been called Scandinavian.

Physically, these men of the North were long-headed, fair-haired, blue-eyed giants, of great strength, and capable of long-sustained outbursts of energy, intellectual as well as physical. They had great powers of concentration and of thinking ahead. Their moral characteristics were equally remarkable. Passionately attached to their individual liberty, they resented any authority not emanating in some degree from themselves. They were adventurous by temperament, and had an extraordinary gift for adapting themselves to changed circumstances.

Not till the Viking Age did the North emerge into the light of history and 'civilized' Europe begin to learn something of the homeland of this unending series of invaders. The 'Viking Age' is a label used to indicate that period of from two to three centuries, roughly, from A.D. 750 to 1000, during which the Scandinavian races—Danes, Norwegians and Swedes—no longer content with laboriously trekking overland as their predecessors had done in all their previous invasions, took to the sea, and added a new terror to their name. They swooped down suddenly, like an eagle, seized their prey, and departed again into the unknown.

But there was another characteristic of these maritime raids which reacted on the raiders themselves. Hitherto the invading hosts had been nations or tribes on the march. They came not merely to plunder but to occupy and to settle. They remained in the Promised Land which they had won, enjoying its plenty, mingling with the natives, acquiring rapidly their culture and civilization, grafting, as it were, a more vigorous shoot on to the older stock. In a generation or two they had become a new nation.

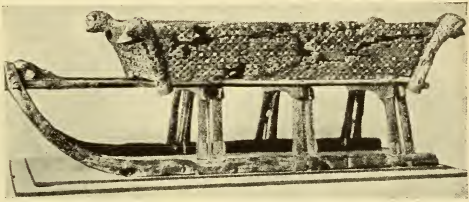
But the raiders who came by sea were more mobile. For the first hundred years, at any rate, they seldom came in sufficient numbers to occupy territory. It was a case of loading their boats and sailing off again. They returned to their homes in the north, stored their plunder and set forth again for more. As the system developed, as the raids became more numerous and were organized on a larger scale, as permanent footholds began to be established on the plundered coasts, more than bullion and weapons, and costly fabrics, and delicious wines, and slaves, were carried into the north. Stowed away among the plunder was an unseen freight, the seeds of the civilization and culture of the south, ideas and thoughts which were to lead to a spiritual awakening of the race, not merely in the territory which it had occupied in the south, but in its own homeland. Prisoners carried north as slaves would often be missionaries of new knowledge. Even Christianity began to penetrate these pagan fastnesses, and at last the Christian Church discovered that the best protection for civilization was to christianize the hive from which the spoilers of the abbeys issued.

This taking to the sea had another effect upon the northern peoples. It brought them all together in closer alliance or association than they had ever been before. There was already a com-

mon type of Baltic civilization, more primitive than, and very different from, the Mediterranean civilization. They had their own religion, their own traditional poetry, their mystic runes for carving inscriptions and their distinctive decorative art in which the figures of animals and plants were twisted into complicated geometrical designs. It had been an unconscious growth, and, though the various peoples spoke similar languages, and had the same mode of life, they knew little of each other. The new facilities for intercourse by sea, the co-operation in raiding expeditions brought them closer together, made them more conscious of their numbers and their power, and created, for the first time, a kind of rude commonwealth throughout the north of Europe.

The ship was the key to this new phase of European history, the sea-going ship. Hitherto the ships of the Mediterranean had been mere cockle shells and glorified row-boats. The earliest sailors of whom we have knowledge navigated the Nile, and the island-strewn Aegean, and when they ventured beyond these familiar waters they hugged the coast, avoiding the dangers of the open sea. In the Baltic and the North Sea a more seaworthy boat and an even more adventurous type of seaman were evolved. The Scandinavian race had perforce to be seamen. The deficiencies of northern agriculture were made good by the harvest of the sea. As fishermen the Norsemen won their bread on stormy waters. They followed the fish shoals far beyond the sheltered fjords. They were accustomed to the tides and fierce currents and tempests of the North Sea. Inured to such perils from birth, they gradually developed a type of ship, a method of navigation and a temper of mind which enabled them to face the open sea.

The Viking movement, seen in its proper perspective, is not an isolated phenomenon, but part of a long continued process of permeation of Europe by the northern races. At the beginning of the eighth century the North was ripening for another outburst of energy. The population of Scandinavia was already too numerous for the niggard provision of nature and the adventurous temper of the people. One must not conceive of a great locust-horde of adventurers issuing out of the northern hive and swarming over the southern lands. It was a case of small parties, the younger sons for whom there were no fields to till or forests to hunt at home, who must go out into the world to push their fortunes. The means were at hand in the long-boat, like the highwayman's horse.



CARVED SLEDGE OF THE VIKING AGE

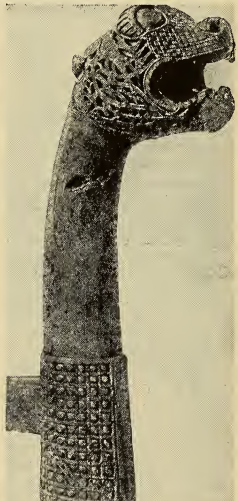
Viking sledges, as exemplified in the funeral ship found at Oseberg, consisted of a flat box carried on thin poles attached to the runners by three pairs of double supports. This Oseberg sledge is entirely covered with carving, showing a geometrical pattern on the panels and animals' heads on the corner posts.

In the year A.D. 787 three Viking ships raided the south coast of England near Dorchester, and carried off spoil. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle this was the first of the Viking raids. Soon all the coasts of western Europe were to know the terror of the long-ships, with their dragon heads and their bulwark of round shields.

The men who manned them were fierce pagans bursting in on peaceful Christian lands. They came to plunder, ravish, slay, and then to disappear, carrying off treasure and slaves. No one knew when they might arrive. Their sudden, fierce onslaught was irresistible. Their numbers seemed inexhaustible. They sailed boldly up the great rivers into the very heart of the land. It seemed the greatest disaster that had happened to Christendom since the irruption of Mahomedanism.

But even before this date the Vikings had been known, as traders apparently, along the shores of France, and in the Mediterranean. These were the pioneers

Wooden bedsteads have been found in several ship graves. In the specimen from Oseberg the head-posts—one of which is here shown horizontally—are carved in a design explained as representing animals' heads with reverted necks.



This fantastic head on a long, out-stretched neck—one of the four corner-posts of a chest—is very characteristic of Viking art.

Norse craftsmen brought decorative art to a high perfection, using foreign models freely, yet developing a style of their own. Left, carvings on the portal of Hyllestad church.

VIKING ART AND CULTURE AS REVEALED BY A BURIAL SHIP

Courtesy of Oslo University and (bottom left) photo, P. Vaering

who spied out the richness of the land, and brought back to the north the report of a southern Eldorado. The mighty Charlemagne himself the descendant of northern invaders and the inheritor and augmenter of their conquests, foresaw, before his death in 814, that the flood-gates were opening for a new deluge.

In his lifetime he did something to stem the tide, but already the Northmen were steadily encroaching on other lands. The Swedish Vikings were engaged in a peaceful penetration of what is now Russia. They sailed up the great Russian rivers which fall into the Baltic, and established a lucrative trade with Eastern merchants who ascended the Black Sea rivers.

On the other hand the Norwegian and Danish Vikings had their faces turned towards the West. They confined their settlements, in the first instance, to the north of Scotland and the Isles. They mingled with the Celtic population, and from the mixed race sprang a generation of even more formidable leaders. Then came the raids upon the monasteries and towns which dotted the coast of Scotland, England and Ireland.

It was in the ninth century that the deluge broke through all dams. The story of the exploits of the earlier adventurers had been

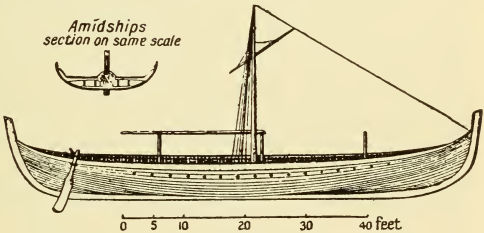
celebrated by the 'skalds' (bards) throughout all the homesteads of Scandinavia. The rise to power in Norway of Harold Harfagr (Harold Fair-hair) drove forth the more recalcitrant spirits to seek new kingdoms. The emigration to Scotland, the Orkneys and Shetlands, the Hebrides and Ireland became something like a tribal movement; Iceland was discovered and settled. The mixed race became more numerous.

The contact with civilization only whetted the Vikings' appetite for bolder exploits. The coasts of Flanders and of France were raided. The great rivers, the Rhine, the Somme, the Seine, the Loire and the Garonne, were highways by which the Viking boats penetrated right into the heart of the richest provinces of the Empire. Arab historians tell how they swarmed along the coast of Spain, and even the African coast. They entered the Mediterranean and penetrated as far as the shores of Italy. Simultaneously the Varangians, as the Swedish Vikings were called, had launched their ships upon the Black Sea; their 'barbaric yawp' had been heard from the walls of Constantinople. Thus the pagan Northmen had encircled Christian Europe.

By the middle of the ninth century the Danish Vikings, no longer content with casual raids, following the example of the Norwegians in Ireland, had established permanent fortified camps at the mouths of the Scheldt, the Somme, the Seine, the Loire and the Garonne, from which bases they organized formidable expeditions into the interior, boldly challenging the military resources of the Empire. England was at the same time overrun, and King Alfred, in desperate straits, was hiding in the marshes of Athelney. The Franks were at first a helpless prey. Wherever the great rivers afforded a highway there went the Vikings. When Paris resisted and stood siege, they sailed up the river and laid waste the country far beyond. It was only gradually that the Franks learned to build fortified bridges to bar the rivers and to fortify their cities.

Lure of the Imperial City

In the year 859 Bjorn 'Ironside,' together with his foster father, Hasteinn, sailed round Spain, and through the Strait of Gibraltar, into the Mediterranean. There they began a systematic harrying of the coast of France. They fortified a camp on the island of Camargue in the Rhône delta, from which base they plundered the cities of the Riviera. They sailed up the Rhône, despite its swift current, as far as Valence. They even planned an attack on Rome itself.



WARSHIP OF A VIKING CHIEFTAIN

Largely owing to its having been interred in air-proof blue clay, the burial ship found at Gogstad in 1880 provides a practical model of Viking ship construction. It was clinker-built, caulked with hair and iron-fastened, and shallow-bottomed for navigation in shallow water and for easy beaching.

In eastern Europe a similar process was taking place. The Swedish Vikings, or Varangians, sailing up the Neva to Lake Ladoga, and thence up the Volkhof to Lake Ilmen, had built a fort, called Novgorod, and established there the central depot for their trade with the Greek and Armenian merchants from the Black Sea. In the year 862 one of the Varangian leaders, called Rurik, established his rule over the tribes round Novgorod, and thus laid the foundations of the Russian Empire.

Three years later two other Varangian leaders, Askold and Dir, set out for Constantinople. Halting at Kiev, they founded a kingdom there which, a few years later, was absorbed in that of Novgorod. Pushing on from Kiev with a fleet of Viking boats, they shot the

While conforming to the true Scandinavian type, the Oseberg ship was so much more elaborately ornamented than its Gogstad counterpart that it is supposed to have been a state barge for the queen, rather than a sea-going ship for Viking raids. It is oak-built, about 72 feet long and about 19 feet wide. The light open-work frame here shows the position of the burial cabin amidships.

The Gogstad ship measured 78 feet in length over all, 15½ feet in width, and 6 feet in depth. Speed was the chief aim of the Viking boat-builder, and it is achieved here by the lightness of the craft, the sharp lines of stem and stern, and the bellying sides. It was seated for 32 oars, on 16 benches, and carried a large, square sail on its single mast, abaft which the funeral chamber was constructed. The warriors' shields were ranged round the gunwale as a protection.

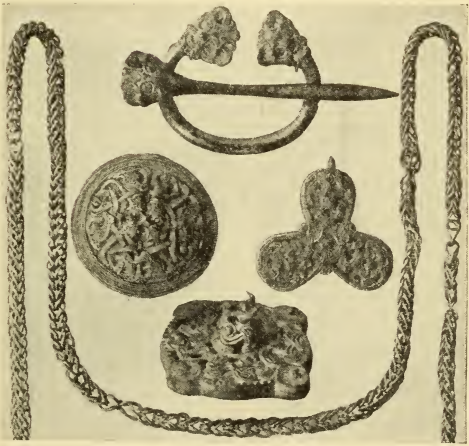
ACTUAL VIKING SHIPS OF THE MIDDLE NINTH CENTURY

Courtesy of Oslo University

rapids of the Dnieper, and then launched forth boldly on the Black Sea, as on their native element, the Baltic. They took to raiding the coasts of Thrace and Asia Minor, as Bjorn and Hasteinn were doing on the shores of Provence and Italy. Two hundred small but swift and seaworthy Viking boats passed through the Bosporus and made their way into the Sea of Marmora, where they began plundering monasteries and the luxurious villas of the Byzantine nobles, almost within sight of the walls of Constantinople. In 907 Oleg mustered a fleet of 2,000 ships on the Black Sea, and again harried the environs of the Imperial City. He was unable to carry the walls by assault, but it took heavy blackmail to buy him off. The chronicles record a series of similar attempts.

Meantime, an event was happening in Norway which was to have repercussions far abroad. Here the Norse race grew up under conditions which intensified all its special characteristics. The mountains rendered communication by land practically impossible. As a rule, only a tiny strip of arable land was to be found at the head of the fjord, and on the valley floor. The scattered families grew up in the most complete isolation and independence. The fjords and the island-protected sound along the coast provided sheltered water in which navigation was easy, but beyond the islands were the tempestuous waters of the North Sea and the Atlantic, teeming with fish. Here was bred a race of the most fearless and adventurous sailors of the age, intolerant of restraint, the head of each family reigning as a king in his own remote fjord.

Events were slowly shaping towards the establishment of a kingdom over the whole of Norway. The movement was strongly resisted by these independent chieftains. Harold 'Fair-hair' was the son of Halfdan, the ruler of a large fertile district in southern Norway, on the Christiania Fjord, the Vik, from which the Vik-ings took their name. A mighty warrior and a statesman of genius, he was the founder of the kingdom of Norway. One by one, by force or by policy, he subjugated the neighboring chieftains, and re-established them as feudal earls, holding their lands on condition of their acknowledging him as overlord.



SCANDINAVIAN WOMEN'S JEWELRY

Brooches were commonly of bronze, with decorative designs suggesting a Celtic influence. The other object illustrated is a delicate gold necklet.

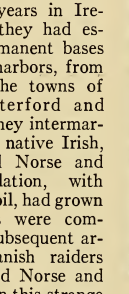
From Sophus Muller, 'Vor Oldtid'

There was desperate resistance which culminated in 872 in a great naval battle in Hafrsfjord, near the site of the present town of Stavanger. For long the issue was doubtful, but in the end the arms of Harold prevailed.

The kingship of Harold meant political unification, uniform administration of justice, the suppression of private wars within the realm and the regularizing of relations with neighboring powers. Taxation was necessary to meet the cost, and taxation was a thing which many of the old freeholders, who had been kinglets in their own right, could not submit to. The battle of Hafrsfjord was

their last stand, but even then they could not reconcile themselves to the service of Harold. Returning to their homesteads, they repaired their battle-damaged ships, then, assembling their families and retainers, and taking so much of their household goods and stock as they could, they set sail 'west over sea' to found new homes beyond the reach of Harold.

The earliest refugees settled in the Orkney and Shetland Islands, and in the Hebrides, and joined the raiding bands which were harrying the coasts of England and France. Norsemen had already been settled for nearly fifty years in Ireland, where they had established permanent bases at the chief harbors, from which rose the towns of Dublin, Waterford and Limerick. They intermarried with the native Irish, and a mixed Norse and Celtic population, with roots in the soil, had grown up. Matters were complicated by subsequent arrivals of Danish raiders who plundered Norse and Irish alike. In this strange world of strife the refugees from Norway found a welcome and an occupation.



NORWEGIAN PAIL

Numerous domestic utensils were placed in a kitchen compartment behind the death cabin—among them this bucket with bronze hoops.

Having successfully established themselves overseas, the refugees began to think of revenge. They turned back on their tracks and commenced raiding the shores of Norway and spoiling those who accepted the rule of Harold. Vengeance overtook them again. When Harold showed that his arm could reach the Hebrides the exiles rose like a flock of sea-birds, and began a fresh migration to Iceland.

In the course of a single generation this large island was colonized by one of the most remarkable communities in the world, a nation of people who had come together because they rejected the control of any central government. They had a social and moral code of their own, which on the whole they observed, but they had no central authority to enforce it. They were, in fact, a nation without a state. It was from Iceland that th wonderful saga literature emanated source of the greater part of our knowl edge of the early history of the Nort and of the Viking age.

The story of Ketill 'Fletneb' (Flat nose) is typical of this period. Ketill wa a mighty 'hersir' in Norway, of nobl birth himself, and with his numerou children married into powerful families When the pressure of Harold 'Fair-hai could no longer be withstood he calle together his kinsmen and made know his decision 'to follow th example of many nobl men and fly this country Some were for seekin Iceland, of which 'the had heard many pleasin news,' but Ketill said 'Into that fishing place shall never come in m old age.' Rather woul he try his fortune wes over sea, for there h knew many lands wher he had harried far an wide. So he settled o one of the fjords on th coast of Scotland, an from him sprang the fa mous line or Orkney earls His daughter, Unn 'th Deep-minded,' marrie Olaf 'the White,' who wa king in Dublin. There brought into contact wit the Irish church, she be came a Christian. On th death of Olaf she returned with he family, and retainers, and much wealth to her father's home in Scotland. He son Thorstein 'the Red,' who had harrie Scotland far and wide, and made himsel master of much of the country, was a last slain by the Scots in Caithness.

Her father having died also, Unn re solved to leave this land of unendin war and to seek refuge in Iceland, wher so many of her kin were already settled She had a ship built secretly in a wood and loading it with her possessions sh set sail once more with the remainin members of her family and retainers. I the Orkneys she halted to marry off on of her grand-daughters, and another sh married off in the Faroe Isles. Land ing in Iceland, she took possession of

wide stretch of country on the Broadfirth Dales, and divided it up among her followers. This remarkable woman lived to a ripe old age, a Christian woman among her pagan countrymen, and when she died, there being no consecrated land in Iceland, she was buried on the beach, below high-water mark. Many of the leading families of Iceland and Scotland claim descent from her.

Not a few of the kings of Norway had served an apprenticeship in the wild Viking life. Olaf Trugvesson, who ruled in the last five years of the tenth century, started his epic career in his infancy, and after having been a slave in Esthonia, a refugee in Russia and a soldier of fortune in Pomerania, adopted the Viking life, and harried the coasts of Scotland, Wales, Ireland and France. He joined forces with Svein (Sweyn) 'Fork-beard,' the Dane, in the siege of London, in 994. Olaf 'the Saint,' who ruled from 1016 to 1030, went his first Viking cruise at the age of twelve, and for over ten years took part in raids on the coasts of Finland, Sweden, Denmark, England and France. He was a seasoned veteran when, at the age of twenty-two, he struck the first blow in the four years' struggle that was to leave him king of all Norway.

An even more remarkable story was that of Harold 'Hardraada' (Hard in Council), who was king of Norway from 1047 to 1066. His kingdom was still largely pagan and outside the ken of civilized Europe; but, as a soldier of fortune, he had seen service in the very center of civilization, was familiar with the brilliant Byzantine court, and had fought the battles of the Roman Empire in Asia and Africa. When his half-brother Olaf 'the Saint' lost his life and his throne at the battle of Stiklestad, Harold escaped and fled to Russia where the descendants of Rurik still ruled, and thence he proceeded to Constantinople, where he joined the body-guard of Varangians, or Northmen, maintained by the Greek emperor. By his wit, his courage and his craft, he soon rose to be captain of the Varangian Guard, and he led his troop against the Saracens in Palestine, Egypt and Sicily. Great was his strength in battle, but greater still was his craft in devising stratagems. He accumulated much treasure, which he prudently always sent north by trusted countrymen to await his return.

He played some part in the politics of the Byzantine court, outwitting George Maniakes, the Greek commander-in-chief. He won the perilous favor of the empress Zoë, which was turned to enmity, however, by an intrigue with another lady of the court. The palace he found more dangerous than the camp, and he only extricated himself from this coil by flight. This was the training of the man who was to rule the stubborn North, and who came within a hair's-breadth of beating Norman William in the race for the conquest of England. He was the Harold who perished at the battle of Stamford Bridge in 1066.

Five hundred years before Columbus crossed the Atlantic and set ajar the gates of the New World the Vikings had discovered America. They made repeated voyages, and planted a colony there, and established trade. Children were born to them there, and one of these American born Norsemen returned to Iceland, where his descendants were long known. Several of them became distinguished bishops of the Christian Church. The saga in which is narrated the story of the discovery of Vinland, as America was called, was written by Ari 'the Learned' four hundred years before Columbus set sail.

It was inevitable that the discovery of Greenland should follow soon after that of Iceland. It was only a few days' sail farther west. And Greenland was but a stepping-stone to America. In the year 985 Thorfinn and his son, Eric 'the Red,' outlaws from Iceland (too wild even for that community of outlaws), settled in Greenland. Another Greenland settler, called Bjarni, driven south by fog and gale, skirted the coast of Labrador, and caught sight of the low, wooded shores of Newfoundland, and his report aroused great interest among the adventurers in Greenland. There were many who blamed Bjarni for not having landed and prospected the new country.

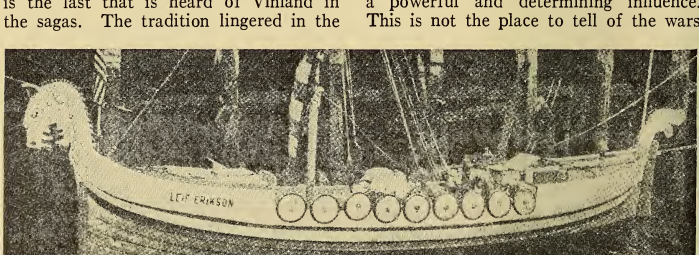
Leif 'the Lucky,' son of Eric the Red, bought Bjarni's ship, and set out to see for himself, with thirty-five comrades. First they came to the desolate coast of Labrador, to which they gave the name of Helluland, or Stoneland. Next they came to the sandy beaches and forest-

clad shores of Newfoundland, and this they called Markland, or Woodland. Two or three days later they reached land again, and sailed up a great river abounding in salmon. There they built huts and wintered. The winter was mild, and days and nights were nearly equal, so they must have reached as far south as, perhaps, Massachusetts Bay. Grape vines were discovered growing wild, so they called the country Vinland, and they returned to Greenland with a cargo of timber, most precious in that treeless land.

Altogether five Viking voyages to Vinland are recorded in the sagas. Thorvald, Leif's brother, made the next voyage, but he was killed by an arrow in as encounter with the natives. Thorfinn, who had married into the family of Eric the Red, egged on by his wife, was the next pioneer. He took out an expedition of a hundred and sixty people, men and women, with horned cattle, for making a permanent settlement. They built a strong palisade round their settlement, and established a trade in furs with the natives, who, at first, were inclined to be friendly. Thorfinn's wife bore him a son there, who was called Snorri. Trouble, however, developed with the natives, and they became so hostile that Thorfinn decided to abandon the settlement. The last expedition was got up by a sister of Leif's, but owing to dissensions among her followers it came to nothing. That is the last that is heard of Vinland in the sagas. The tradition lingered in the north, but southern Europe paid little heed to the legends of the northern barbarians. It was left for a great sailor, five centuries later, to rediscover America.

Long and diligent search has been made in America for some trace of this first European colonisation. Sensational discoveries of runic inscriptions are continually being reported in the newspapers, but none of them, so far, has been able to stand scrutiny. The Dighton Rock, on the beach of Massachusetts, was long supposed to bear a Norse inscription, and some experts even professed to read the runes. They have now been proved to be Indian picture-writing. The alleged 'Norse Tower' at New Port, Rhode Island, is the remains of a windmill built about 1670-80 by Governor Arnold. And so with all the others. The only indubitable evidence that remains is the saga story written before Columbus was born. The culture existing in America up to the time of the Viking settlements is described in Chapter 88.

A survey of the North at the beginning of the tenth century reveals the Viking race, in this particular manifestation, spread far beyond the bounds of Scandinavia and Denmark, its original home. It was firmly established in Iceland, in large areas in the British Isles, in Normandy, on the southern shores of the Baltic and in Russia. On the development of all these countries it exercised a powerful and determining influence. This is not the place to tell of the wars

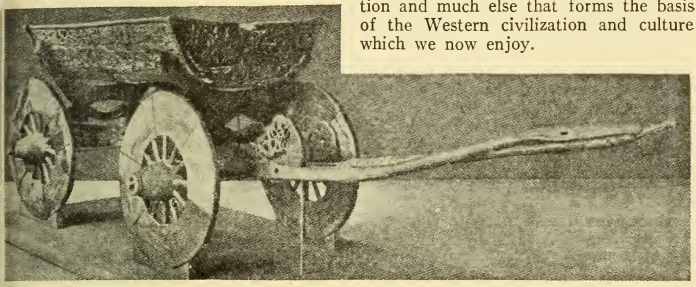


TWENTIETH CENTURY REPLICA OF A VIKING SHIP

How thoroughly Scandinavian shipbuilders mastered the art of constructing reliable ocean-going vessels was demonstrated twice in modern times. In 1893 a replica of the Gogstad ship was sailed across the Atlantic on its own bottom, and in 1926 four Norwegians crossed the Atlantic from Norway to the United States in this 42-foot craft, modelled upon that in which Leif, son of Eric, first voyaged to the New World in A.D. 1000. The crew was becalmed just off New England after 70 days.

of Alfred the Great with the Danes, of the reign of Canute, the Dane, over England, of the conquest of England by William the Norman (see Chap. 89), of the earls of Orkney, of Somerled and the Lords of the Isles, and of the battle of Clontarf, at which the Irish king, Brian Boru, falling himself, like Samson, dragged down the pillars of Norse rule.

The Viking strain reveals itself, not merely in physical conquests, and in the establishment of kingdoms, but in the trend of civilization and in the moulding of institutions. It is to the mixed races in which this potent blood has been blended that we owe feudalism, and representative institutions for the government of democracy, and the federal form of empire, and the Protestant Reformation and much else that forms the basis of the Western civilization and culture which we now enjoy.



WAGON FOR A DEAD QUEEN'S PROGRESSES THROUGH THE SPIRIT WORLD

Ship burial was a distinctive Scandinavian custom. Sometimes the ship containing the corpse was launched and set afire, sometimes buried beneath a 'how', or tumulus, with prow pointing to the sea. Of the latter kind was the Scandinavian queen's funeral ship found at Oseberg. Among its contents for her use in the after-life was this wagon. Remains of fifteen horses and four dogs were also found in the ship, together with a complete outfit of harness for the wagon and the sledges.

Courtesy of Oslo University

THE GOLDEN AGE OF ARAB CULTURE

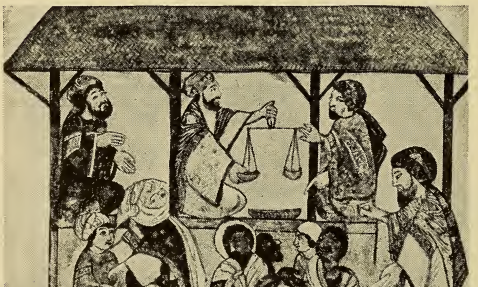
HOW THE MOSLEM WORLD AND ITS LANGUAGE CARRIED THE TORCH OF LEARNING THROUGH THE MIDDLE AGES

STANLEY LANE-POOLE, Litt.D.

Professor of Arabic, Trinity College, Dublin, 1898-1904; Author of 'The Art of the Saracens of Egypt,' 'Arabian Society in the Middle Ages,' etc.

WHAT has been called "the Golden Age of Arab Culture" covered five centuries, the ninth to the thirteenth of our era, and extended wherever the arms of the Saracens had triumphed in their great sweep of conquest in the seventh century, from Persia to Spain and the Atlantic. But the culture, though Arabic in language, was not Arab. The nomad of the Arabian deserts had no culture. For that he had to go outside Arabia. He had long coveted the rich lands bordering his own infertile country, and had even sometimes established small principalities on the border; but it needed two things, national unity and a powerful stimulus, to impel him to wide conquests. Both these the great prophet Mahomet provided. He welded together—only for a time, but the epoch was momentous—the jealous rival clans, and he gave them a religion for which to fight.

It is true that the Arab of the desert had always been, as he still is, a sceptic and materialist at heart, and "his hard, clear, keen, but somewhat narrow intelligence, ever alert in its own domain, was neither curious nor credulous" about things of the spirit. But Mahomet's simple, austere monotheism, with its crude and sensual doctrine of rewards and punishments, appealed to him with a curious fascination, and the shout of "Allah Akbar," "God is most great," with which he marched to fight the infidel, proved to be a very potent battle-cry. Nevertheless, it cannot be pretended that religion was the main cause of the Arabs' sweeping conquests.



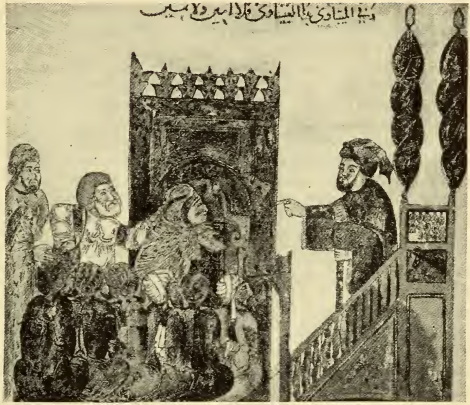
SCENE IN A BAGHDAD SHOP

Illustrated manuscripts give a better idea of the life of Baghdad in Abbasid times than any building; and the buildings have perished. This illustration comes from the thirteenth-century 'Schefer' MS. of Hariri and shows, in what was then the world's mart, just such a shop as is still common in the East.

From F. R. Martin, 'The Miniature Painting of Persia, India and Turkey'

A MUCH more obvious urge was a natural overwhelming lust for booty. The rich and ancient empires of Rome and Persia lay before them, both decrepit and internally diseased, and neither able to offer more than a brief and hopeless resistance. In twenty years the barbarians from the deserts

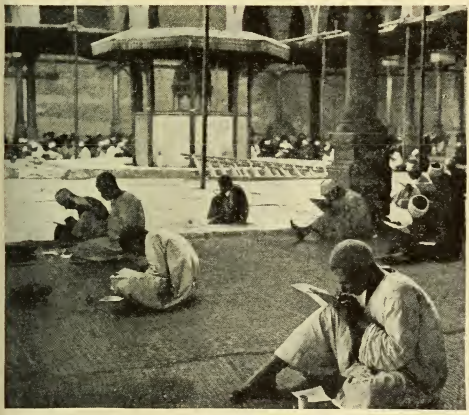
found themselves masters of wide dominions formerly ruled by Caesar and Chosroes; and the peoples of various tongues and religions and cultures, imbued with the ideals of the Greek philosophers and poets, and trained in the great principles of Roman law, had to submit, almost as serfs, to ignorant rulers who could speak only Arabic and had but one book—but that a master-book—to furnish their culture and canons. To the Arab, in his superb arrogance, these subject peoples with their noble traditions of wisdom and law seemed wholly inferior to himself, the true son of the desert. Having no learning, no science, no philosophy, he utterly despised those who had; having nothing to teach, he had no desire to learn, and the last thing he could imagine was that these feeble people whom he had so easily subdued would become in a marvelously short time his masters. The only thing he could do or wished to do was to dominate, and so for a century he simply governed the spacious lands he had conquered. The Ommiad (Omayyad) caliphs, who made Damascus, instead of Medina, their capital (A.D. 661), were capable, tolerant governors, and very lax Moslems, who realized that every conversion to Islam meant the loss of the convert's poll-tax, the sum levied by the state in accordance with the law of the Koran on every misbeliever, which, after



LIFE IN MOSQUE AND CARAVAN

Baghdad owed its short period of imperial prosperity to its magnificently central position; from east and west caravans converged on its markets and wise men on its mosques. The same MS. that showed us a shop (see preceding page) shows here a sermon being preached from a mosque pulpit.

From Schlumberger, 'L'épopée byzantine'



MOSQUE AS EXAMINATION HALL

It was the mosques that were the great universities for the dissemination of the new learning in the days of Baghdad's imperial splendor, and still today they fulfill the same function. In this photograph we see students undergoing an examination in the Mardani Mosque at Cairo.

Photo, Donald McLeish

the first glut of loot brought in by the early conquests subsided, had become a vital asset in the caliph's exchequer. They, therefore, left the subject peoples to the enjoyment of their own creeds, and carefully gathered in the taxes.

By the second century of the Hejira the great majority of those professing Islam belonged to the despised subject races, Egyptian, Syrian, Persian, Greek, Berber, Spanish. In becoming Moslems they claimed equality with the disdainful Arabs, for Islam knows no distinction of class or race.

To make doubly sure many of them adopted Arabic names and even invented pedigrees displaying pretended descent from the famous tribes celebrated in the pre-Islamic ballads. Above all, they had to know the Koran. Arabic joined together the peoples of Asia, Africa and Spain just as Latin cemented the Catholic world of western Europe. But far from establishing the supremacy of the Arab race it uprooted it. Once the subject peoples accepted the Koran and its language, there was an end of the Arab prerogative. All became Arabs in tongue, but few were Arabs born. The Arabs had come to rule, but the subject peoples remained to teach, and the tutor in time became the master in another sense.

The old Hellenic tradition inherited by the Romans had languished, but never died, in the Byzantine period. Egypt and Syria were thoroughly familiar with Greek ideas, and Persia in her many wars with Rome had carried back to her own land much of her enemy's culture.

The interminable theological controversies which split up the Eastern Churches proved a blessing in disguise, for they compelled a constant study of the Greek philosophers—above all, of Aristotle, whose logic was made the basis of all theological disputation. In the schools of Syria and Alexandria most of Aristotle's works in Syriac translations, with commentaries, were the necessary tools of theological dialectic and the common stock of the rival combatants.

THE STUDY OF ASTRONOMY

Astronomy was one of the studies through which Moslem culture contributed to knowledge. This is an ink drawing of a constellation from a manuscript of about 1300, reflecting the tincture of astrology from which such studies were not free.

From F. R. Martin, 'Miniature Painting'

HERE were materials for a revival of culture if the conquerors only knew how to regenerate it. The impulse could not come from the conservative Arab caliphs of Damascus; but happily a timely revolution transferred the seat of government from the inland Arab city to a newly-founded capital open to quite different and, as we should say, "progressive" influence. The dynasty of the Abbasid caliphs succeeded the Syrian line in 750, and twelve years later Mansur, second of the new line, founded Baghdad and made it his capital.

Persian ideas supplanted Arab limitations, though the new ideas were expressed in the noble and flexible Arabic idiom. The various departments of government were administered by Persian officials of a very different order of intellect from the Arab, among whom the brilliant family of Barmecides (Barmakis) were famous and

made "the golden prime of the good Haroun al-Raschid" the theme of many of the tales of the "Arabian Nights."

Arabic culture, however, did not owe so much to Haroun the Orthodox, who was a conventional Moslem in profession whatever he was in private life, as to his broad-minded son al-Mamun. The offspring of a Persian mother, Mamun was Persian to the core, with all the Persian's love of inquiry and metaphysical speculation. He warmly encouraged the study of the Greek philosophers and the translation of their works directly from the Greek into Arabic, and he adopted a rationalistic form of Islam which had a wide influence in broadening the views of Arabic theologians. A reaction, however, followed only too soon which checked philosophical thought and sterilized Islam, so that it took the narrow form which has lasted generally to the present day.

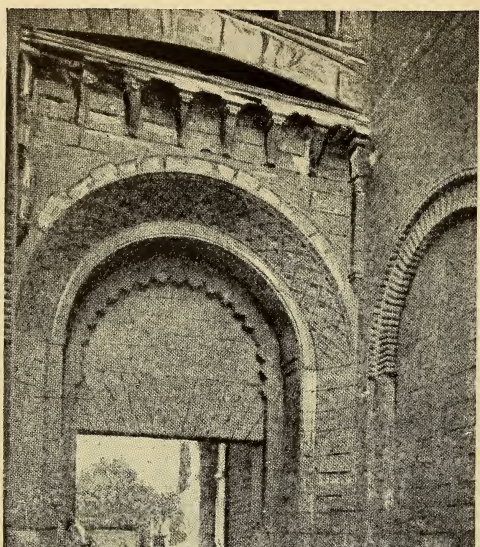
Mamun's great Hall of Science at Baghdad, with its library and astronomical observatory, was but one of the many magnificent buildings which the earlier Abbasid caliphs set up in their capital and its extensive suburbs; but the glory of Baghdad was short-lived. A bare century comprised what may be called its apogee, after which it became the prey of Turkish mercenaries. But it gave an impulse and served as a model to the whole world of Islam, and the happy circumstance that it was situated on a great river made it accessible to traders from all parts, east and west. The wares of China and products of the spice islands found a market at Baghdad, and great hoards of the Kufic coins of the caliphs found buried in Scandinavia show how largely they traded with the north for furs and leather and other materials. The voyages of Sinbad in the "Arabian Nights" typify real adventures of Arab and Persian sailors.

But Baghdad at its zenith attracted more than material trade. It became for a time the focus of Arabic culture. No more astonishing movement in the history of civilization has occurred than the sudden passion of the whole Islamic world for culture. Every Moslem, from the caliph to the mechanic, seemed suddenly to have become bitten by a longing for learning and a thirst for travel. This was the supreme service of Islam to general culture. The rush of students from all parts to such a center as Baghdad, and

LANDMARK IN THE HISTORY OF SARACENIC ARCHITECTURE

Ibn Tulun, a man of Turkish extraction, was sent to govern Egypt in 868, and under him the land was practically independent. Architecture began to make strides, of which the first premonition is the mosque built by Ibn Tulun himself. The 'corkscrew' minaret, here seen rising beyond the arcades of the courtyard, appears to be imitated from that of the mosque at Samarra, where Ibn Tulun had received his military training, and other architectural features support the inference.

From Briggs, 'Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt,' Clarendon Press



A NOBLE FATIMID GATEWAY

Noteworthy though the mosque of Ibn Tulun is, the artistic history of Egypt under the rest of the Tulunid house is a blank. Not until the Fatimid caliphs ruled Egypt at the end of the tenth century was progress apparently resumed; this Cairene gateway (Bab el-Futuh) is typical of their architecture.

afterwards to other cradles of literature and science, resembled the later tide of European scholars who surged upon the universities in search of the New Learning, but was even more amazing.

In the mosques, which were (as some still are) the universities of Islam, were throngs of eager students who came to listen to the lectures of professors in theology, jurisprudence, philosophy, medicine and mathematics. The professors themselves came from all parts of the Arabic-speaking world, and lectured how and when they pleased, without diplomas or salaries or academic control. The foundation of all studies was the Koran, but this led inevitably to a minute study of the refinements of the Arabic language, to grammatical subtleties, to philology and exegesis. The variety of the professors from different lands induced mental alertness, and new minds with novel views struck fresh lights like flints upon tinder.

Now, the Koran stood to Arabic philosophy in much the same relation as the Bible did to medieval scholasticism, and for both the logic of Aristotle was essential. Indeed, Averroes (Ibn Roshd), whose "kulliyat," under the Latinized name of "colliget," became a standard text book in the Italian universities, revered Aristotle as the most lucid revelation of the divinity. If the masters of Arabic philosophy, who lectured on Aristotle and Ptolemy, Galen and Hippocrates, not without some admixture of neo-Platonic interpretations derived from Plotinus and the Alexandrian authorities, discovered no striking developments of the theories of their Hellenic teachers, at least they set forth their results in fresh lights and made them familiar in one language to all the widespread students of a new world. What medieval Europe knew of Greek philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, astronomy and medicine was learned principally through Latin translations from Arabic treatises which held their places in the schools of Europe down to the sixteenth and even well into the seventeenth century.

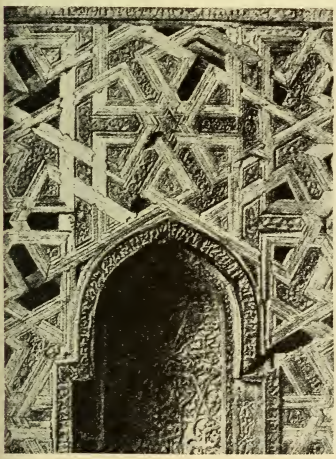
In mathematics especially the Arabic masters made an invaluable advance by employing the Indian (or "Arabic") ciphers—the very word cipher is Arabic—for notation, and thus making possible both algebra—another Arabic word—and trigonometry, for which they introduced the sine in place of the chord. In the

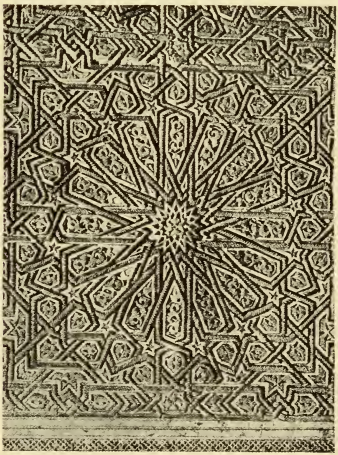
field of astronomy, from ancient times a special study of the East, the Arabic names of zenith, nadir, azimuth, and those of numerous stars, are evidence of the observations of the native astronomers. That astrology entered largely into their calculations was, of course, inevitable in the conditions of the time; but here they were no more fanciful than the observers and diviners of medieval Europe.

In the same way chemistry, especially under Alexandrian influence, degenerated into alchemy, a name which suggests its Egyptian origin; "talisman," like "alembic," comes to us through the Arabic from the Greek, but "alkali" is pure Arabic, and "alcohol" very little adulterated, just as Ptolemy's "Almagest," translated into Arabic early in the ninth century, is only Greek with the Arabic article. Yet, smile as we may at the alchemists' quest of the philosopher's stone for turning base metals into gold, modern discoveries in physics have shown that some transmutations at least are within the scope of practical science.

Side by side with this amazing expansion of science and learning among the Arabic-speaking peoples came a universal desire for travel. Few eminent scholars were not also adventurous travellers, in days when travelling in the East involved risk; and there is a vast library of books of travel in Arabic, the earliest being road-books; then great gazetteers or geographical dictionaries, like Yakut's (who was a Greek slave, but educated at Baghdad); and travel books by Idrisi, Bekri, Ibn Jubair and others. The anecdotal historian, Mas'udi, sometimes called "the Herodotus of the East," was a great traveller and, starting from Baghdad, visited many countries and has something amusing or instructive to tell about most of them. Among others he visited Egypt in 942, but has little to relate of Egyptian progress in the liberal arts.

It would seem singular that Egypt of all countries, the head of the great Alexandrian schools, should be so backward in producing men of outstanding reputation, but the explanation is that for more than

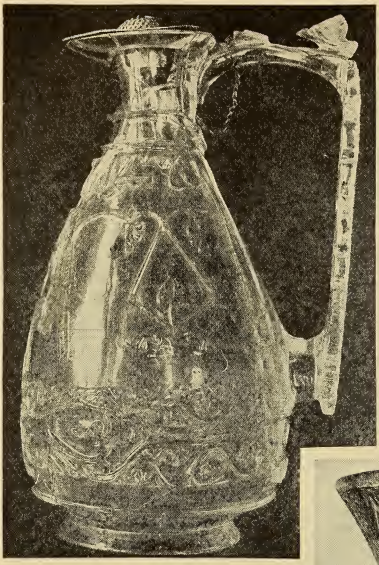




TYPICAL EXPRESSIONS OF SARACENIC ART IN EGYPT AND SPAIN

The restriction on the representation of living things implicit in the Koran led to the development of that geometric and arabesque ornament which is characteristic of Saracenic art, and is well shown by the wooden 'mihrab' or prayer niche from the eleventh-century mosque of Sitta Nefisa, Cairo (left). The style reached its culmination in Spain as in the stucco work (right) of the Alhambra.

Left photo from Glück and Diez, 'Die Kunst des Islam'



two centuries after the Hejira it was ruled by a series of governors of Arab race appointed by the caliphs. These Arab lieutenants were chiefly concerned with exacting as much as possible in taxes from the peasants. The wealth and energy of the first really great governor, the Turk Ahmad Ibn Tulun (868) attracted men of letters to his capital, but so far Egypt had not produced any prominent scholar or divine. The mass of the Egyptians were mainly laborers, busy cultivating and irrigating the rich soil with little assistance from their governors.

Under Ibn Tulun, however, who was practically king of Egypt and Syria, architecture began to advance. Hitherto the mosque had been a very simple square enclosure, but his mosque in the suburb which adjoined the future Cairo was remarkable for its great court surrounded by pointed arches of brick and for an early form of the characteristic decoration which is known as "Arab" or Saracenic. Its architect was a Copt, for Arabs did not cultivate the arts, which were indeed rigidly discouraged by the Koran. It was not until Egypt, in the tenth century, fell to the Fatimid caliphs, a Shiah dynasty reprobated by the orthodox of Baghdad, that the arts began to flourish in the land which had been renowned for them some thousands of years before. The prohibition in the Koran of representations of living creatures, though by no means universally observed, led in architecture to the devices of elaborate and very beautiful arabesques and geometrical patterns and the ingenious use of so-called "stalactite" transitions in the dome, which are characteristic of Saracenic art and attained their richest and most complex development in Moorish Spain.

The Fatimids, being "heretics," had no prejudice against portraits, and one of their great wazirs actually commissioned pictures of dancing girls by

ART UNDER THE FATIMIDS

Crystal ware and glass ware of all kinds gleamed in the soft light that illumined Fatimid palace or mosque—in the daytime filtered through tiny panes of colored glass, at night shed from enameled glass lamps such as that above. The jug of cut crystal is tenth century, but the earliest extant example of the peculiar enameled glass is late thirteenth century.

The Louvre and Victoria and Albert Museum

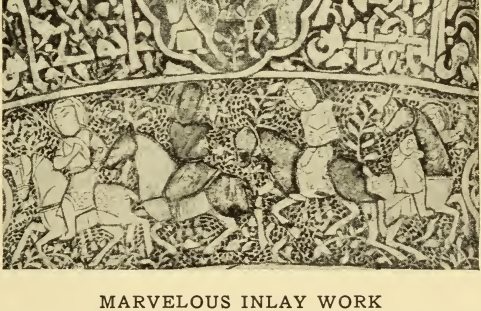
Persian artists. There are fine works in ivory and chased silver and rock crystal in the museums of Europe which are carved by Fatimid artists. Arts and manufactures were warmly encouraged by these heretical rulers, who also held Sicily and delighted in the fine Sicilian embroidery. The great palaces of these rulers, which formed the nucleus of Cairo, must have been full of wonderful treasures. There were fine pottery with iridescent luster, enameled glass, silks of Alexandria and Cairo so delicate that a robe could be passed through a finger ring, and all sorts of manufacturers produced in the royal factory at Tinnis in the Delta.

For Europeans the western extension of Arabic influences is naturally the most interesting and important. The Fatimids with their fleets had brought Arabic culture as well as Saracenic arts and products to the ports of Christendom, but the Saracens had long been in possession of valuable islands in the Mediterranean. For two centuries, from the ninth to the eleventh, they held Malta, and the Maltese language is still a corrupt dialect of Arabic. The ninth and tenth centuries also saw them masters of Sardinia and, far more important, of Sicily, where the Saracenic style of architecture is prominent in the noble buildings of their successors, the Norman kings. In the tenth century, indeed, the Saracens with their Arabic culture were the purveyors and distributors of learning in Europe. The Norman kings of Sicily maintained an almost Oriental court in the midst of a population that consisted mainly of "infidels," and their coins bore Arabic inscriptions. Idrisi, traveler and geographer, recognizer and recorder of the sphericity of the earth, born at Ceuta in 1100 and educated at Cordova, resided at Palermo under the patronage of the enlightened Roger II until his death.

Another and far greater king of Sicily, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, who became emperor in 1215, was the most enlightened man of his time, well called "the wonder of the world," and he encouraged Arabic learning and philosophy with so much enthusiasm that he was suspected of being a renegade.

Arabic culture pervaded the universities of Europe, just as the artistic work of Saracenic "azzeminists" and workers in glass and damascening filled the marts of the great Italian republics, where separate "fondaks" were reserved for Oriental traders, while Pisa and Venice were allowed to establish consulates at Alexandria. Even in France, in spite of the decisive victory of Charles Martel at Tours which put a stop to the tide of Arab conquest, the Saracens still kept some influence in Provence, where the mountains of Les Maures not only preserve the name of the Moors but even remains of their castles, while the troubadours' lays and Provençal poetry have their easily-recognized affinities with the Arabic poetry of Spain.

The brilliant period of the Moors in



MARVELOUS INLAY WORK

This portion of a Syrian bronze platter intricately adorned with figures and arabesques in hammered silver inlay (mid-thirteenth century) shows the kind of treasure that one might have found in a palace of the Fatimids or succeeding dynasties at Cairo.

From 'Meisterwerke Muhammedan Kunst,' Bruckmann A.G.

Spain rivaled and eventually outshone the glory of the Baghdad Caliphate. The brilliance was due, as at Baghdad, to a fusion of races, in which the Arab played the subordinate part; but in Spain the Arab element was quite inconsiderable and the main factors were African Berbers and Christian Goths, with the very important addition of Jewish intellect. It is a singular point that while the Ommiads of Damascus took very little interest in letters or philosophy, their descendants of Cordova were distinguished by their cultivation and support of literature, and their reigns were ennobled by renowned philosophers and beautified by exquisite poetry.

Some fifteen centuries stretch between Aristotle and Averroes, the great philosopher of Moslem Spain; and the logical method of Aristotle had made a long and devious journey from Athens to Andalusia. As "logic" was the instrument or "organon" of Aristotle, so Arabic was the stream which carried that instrument from the Eastern Roman Empire to Bactria, which Aristotle's pupil, Alexander the Great, had conquered; and finally brought that same scientific method back to a Europe which, after centuries of somnolence, was then almost ready to awaken to the call of Greek culture.

In the course of the long journey it had become in turn Hellenistic, Christian and Moslem; it had appeared in a Syriac, an Arabic and a Latin form; it had gathered tributaries from Egyptian, Persian and Indian sources; but the stream that carried the precious argosy through all vicissitudes was the Arabic language. The unifying power of one language and one religion made possible that golden age of Arabic culture which preserved and transmitted to the modern world the heritage of Greece and Rome. Arabic possesses a vast and memorable literature of its own, but its greatest title to the gratitude of the world is its momentous service in the preservation and distribution of an ancient and supreme culture at a time when Europe was steeped in blind illiteracy. The magic of Arabic and the enthusiasm of its students prepared the way for the revival of learning.

THE GENIUS OF CHINESE ART AND LITERATURE

THE BRILLIANT EFFLORESCENCE IN ALL BRANCHES OF ART UNDER THE IMPERIAL HOUSES OF T'ANG AND SUNG

By LIONEL GILES

Deputy Keeper, Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum; Author of Sayings of Confucius, etc.

For a thousand years after the downfall of the Western Roman Empire China stands out as incomparably the greatest nation in the world. Not only had her material civilization reached a height unknown in Europe and but feebly emulated in the Indian peninsula, but the general culture of the Chinese, their ethical standards and their achievements in literature and art, were of an order that had hardly been dreamt of since the great days of Athens.

How the T'ang Dynasty Arose

The aphorism that history repeats itself seems peculiarly applicable to China, because Chinese history extends over a much longer time than any other, and it is therefore easier to see instances of it. Externally, at any rate, there is a curious similarity in the circumstances that led to the foundation of the Han (see Chap. 66) and T'ang dynasties. In each case a long period of confusion, almost of anarchy, was succeeded by a short-lived dynasty which was able to impose its will on the warring factions.

Once established, however, the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907) reached its zenith much more rapidly than the Han. Whereas the glories of the latter hardly began before the reign of Wu Ti (141-87 B.C.), the halcyon days of T'ang were reached as soon as Li Shih-min came to the throne, only ten years after he had urged his father to make a bid for the Yellow Robe.

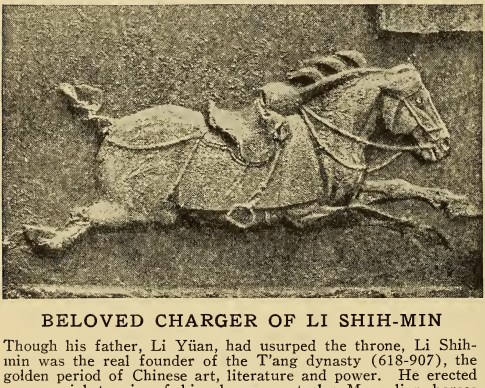
Of all the causes that contributed to the glory of the early T'ang period none was more potent than the character of the ruler. The founder of the Han dynasty was a rude, unlettered soldier, whose success was largely due to the shrewdness of his counsellors; he can hardly be considered a great man. Of a very different stamp was Li Shih-min, who received the posthumous title of T'ai Tsung (Great Ancestor). He was the son of a military governor, Li Yüan, who derived some prestige from his control of the capital, where he played the familiar game of elevating to the throne a puppet emperor of the reigning house, and later usurping the imperial dignity himself.

But, alone, he would have been unequal to the tremendous task of asserting his authority over his numerous rivals. Fortunately for him and for China, his second son, Li Shih-min, was cast in no common mould: with a cool head and dauntless resolution were united qualities of generalship that enabled him within the space of ten years to complete the work of pacification. When, as a just reward for his services, his father had abdicated in his favor, he gave proof of enlightened statesmanship surpassing even his military genius, so that the twenty-two years of Li Shih-min's reign, politically considered, form perhaps the most wonderful era in Chinese history. His domestic reforms gave a great impetus to education and learning, while his foreign policy created an empire that stretched from the Pacific to the Sea of Aral, and the fame of his court penetrated to the rulers of Byzantium.

The T'ang dynasty produced two other great rulers, one of whom was a woman. The dowager empress Wu, who usurped the supreme power in the state for half a century (655-705), was cruel, capricious and immoral—the prototype of Catherine of Russia. Yet the mere fact that she was able to maintain herself at the helm so long, and to govern a vast empire cannot but compel our admiration.

The last of the great rulers, Hsüan Tsung (712-756), was a man of complex character, more difficult to appraise justly. During the first half of his long reign little fault can be found with his administration, except that he was inclined to embark too recklessly on costly wars. But there was in his blood a fatal strain of weakness and self-indulgence which ultimately brought disaster upon himself and the Empire. In many respects, and not least in his patronage of literature and the arts, he resembles Louis XIV of France; but even Paris in the seventeenth century never saw such a brilliant assemblage of poets and painters as Hsüan Tsung succeeded in attracting to his court.

The magnificent stream of poetry which poured forth during the T'ang dynasty, and especially towards the middle of the eighth century, is one of those literary phenomena, occurring at certain epochs of a nation's history, for which many causes may be assigned, and which, when all is said and done, are still more or less unaccountable. Here we must be content with noting that under the T'ang, as under the Han eight hundred years before, a new consciousness of national unity and national greatness sprang up, which though it seldom—in poetry probably never—found expression in words, yet influenced the thoughts of Chinese writers none the less profoundly, and indirectly quickened their inspiration. At the same time the brilliance of certain periods must not blind us to the essential continuity of Chinese literature.



BELOVED CHARGER OF LI SHIH-MIN

Though his father, Li Yüan, had usurped the throne, Li Shih-min was the real founder of the T'ang dynasty (618-907), the golden period of Chinese art, literature and power. He erected a memorial to six of his chargers—stocky Mongolian horses whose representations show the Chinese sculptor's skill.

From Chavannes, 'Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale'

The most ancient snatches of verse that have come down to us date from perhaps the third millennium B.C. One of these is the famous husbandman's song, thus rendered by Professor H. A. Giles:

Work, work!—from the rising sun
Till sunset comes and the day is done
I plough the sod
And harrow the clod,
And meat and drink both come to me,
So what care I for the powers that be?

The original consists of four lines of four syllables each (Chinese words being monosyllabic), and one line of seven syllables. The four-syllable line is the normal measure in the early odes and ballads collected by Confucius, and the seven-syllable line is the one most used in later poetry. Five-syllable lines came into vogue during the reign of Wu Ti of the Han dynasty, and ever since have almost equalled the heptasyllables in popularity. It is in these last two meters that the great bulk of Chinese poetry is composed.

Rhymes are so plentiful in the language that they seem to come naturally and without any sense of effort; but stress-accent, which is the very foundation of English verse, is replaced in Chinese by tonal euphony. As is well known, every Chinese word is pronounced with a certain intonation or inflexion of the voice similar to the tones by means of which Westerners express surprise, incredulity and other emotions; only in Chinese the tone is an inseparable part of each word: that is to say, two syllables with exactly the same sound have different meanings—are, in fact, different words—when pronounced in different tones.

The general effect of the tones is to impart a highly musical quality to Chinese

verse. Except when they speak, in a purely conventional phrase, of poets 'singing,' Western folk seem to have lost sight of the fact that poetry is primarily addressed to the ear. The Chinese, however, are accustomed to croon or chant their verses instead of reading them silently, as we usually do; otherwise much of their effect would be lost.

Several translations in English, French and other European languages have made the Odes of the Shi King too familiar to need much discussion. These artless little songs, collected from all parts of China during the first half of the Chou dynasty (c. 1100-600 B.C.), have been a regular subject of study ever since the days of Confucius, and their influence on literature has been incalculable.

Then follows an interval of three or more centuries, during which poetry seems to have been ousted by philosophy; and the next considerable poem that has come down to us is of a different class. This is the Li Sao ('Falling into Trouble'), the lamentation of a loyal minister who was dismissed by an ungrateful prince and fell upon evil days. It is one of the longest of Chinese poems, running to over 370 lines of irregular length.

The Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) produced some notable poets of nearly the first rank, but on the whole its output cannot compare with that of the T'ang. Perhaps the most striking pieces are those called simply Nineteen Old Poems. They are anonymous and quite short, totalling 252 lines altogether. Yet the influence they have had on later, especially T'ang, poetry is unequalled except by the Odes.

Here is one dealing with the quaint legend of the Cowherd and the Weaving Maiden—two stars known to us as Altair and Vega respectively. They are lovers, but being separated by the Milky Way, which is regarded as a celestial river, they may only meet once a year, on the seventh night of the seventh month, when magpies form a living bridge to enable the maiden to cross:

Far away twinkles the Herd-boy Star,
And glittering is the Damsel of the Milky Way;
Busily she plies her slender white fingers,
And clicking flies the shuttle across the loom.
Never can she finish her task;
Bitter her tears that fall like rain.
The Milky Way is clear and shallow:
How short the space that separates the twain!
One fair river keeps them asunder,
Gazing at each other, but never able to speak.

The most distinctive species of composition cultivated in Han times was the 'fu,' which stands on the borderland of poetry and prose, inclining to one side or the other according to the fashion of the time or the bent of the author. In passing, it may be remarked that the transition from prose to poetry is rendered less sharp in Chinese by the far greater regard paid to rhythmical balance and symmetry in the best prose writing.

T'ANG ART EPITOMISED

T'ang painters excelled in portraying action and movement, which is not characteristic of later Chinese art. This painting of a boy 'rishi' or Taoist genius riding on a goat has been attributed to the brush of Han Kan (c. 725).

British Museum

In classical learning, and especially in history, the Han dynasty is richer than in imaginative literature. Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien's great work has been taken as the model for all the ensuing dynastic histories. He has been called the Herodotus of China; but this name, if it implies that he is the first notable Chinese historian, does injustice to the author of the Tso Chuan, which in the opinion of some critics is the most wonderful document in the whole range of ancient literature.

Another work of a very different character, but also couched in an inimitable style, is the treatise of the Taoist philosopher Chuang-tze (Chap. 31), who lived towards the end of the Chou period. Here we are transported into a region of mysticism and imagination, quaintly tempered by an element of humorous scepticism. Without being a systematic thinker, Chuang-tze is rich in suggestive ideas which were afterwards caught up and developed by a long line of philosophers and poets.

As we have seen in Chapter 66, the introduction of Buddhism immediately had the effect of endowing the old native system of Taoism with fresh strength. Without going more deeply into the philosophy of Taoism, it will be enough to say that it represents the tendency, ever latent in human nature, to revolt against the artificial conventions of society and to return to a freer and more primitive mode of life. Rousseau was thus in many respects a Taoist, though probably the word was quite unknown to him. The

GROWTH OF A NEW ART: BUDDHIST SCULPTURES AT LUNG-MEN

Some of the sculptures at Yün-kang (in Northern Wei) have a certain crudity about them, and in most the Indian influence has almost swamped the native genius. But about a hundred years later another series of grottoes at Lung-mên in Honan began to be similarly adorned (c. 500-800), and here we find that the art and conceptions of Buddhism have been assimilated to these Chinese temper. The result is an art virile yet permeated with religious feeling, as seen in these two 'deva rajas.'

From Chavannes, 'Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale'

chaotic conditions that followed the disintegration of the Han empire, and lasted, in varying degree, for several centuries, made politics a dangerous and unprofitable pursuit; numbers of men who would normally have embraced an official career found their talents at a discount and their ambitions hopelessly thwarted. Sick of life's ills, many withdrew into solitude, having recourse to the consolations that philosophy and religion could offer. The poetic temperament, however, found little attraction in the somewhat gloomy creed of the Buddhist, and turned to the more jovial and irresponsible doctrines of Taoism, with its elements of romance, mystery and color. Though the philosopher's stone might be unattainable, wine was discovered to be a 'sovereign alchemist' that could in a trice 'life's leaden metal into gold transmute.'

Poetry, then, during the third and fourth centuries A.D. is mainly associated with Bohemianism and hard drinking. A literary club that became widely famous was composed of seven mercurial young poets who called themselves the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove. All of them had an astounding capacity for liquor. One wrote of himself (in the translation of Prof. H. A. Giles) as

> regarding eternity as but a single day, and whole centuries as but an instant of time. The sun and moon are the windows of his house; the cardinal points are the boundaries of his domain. He wanders unrestrained and free. He dwells within no walls. The canopy of heaven is his roof; his resting-place is the lap of earth. He follows his fancy in all things. He is never for a moment without a wine flask in one hand, a goblet in the other. His only thought is wine: he knows of naught beyond.

ECHO OF WU TAO-TZE'S STYLE

No work of Wu Tao-tze, the great T'ang master painter, survives, only paintings and carvings on stone said to be copies. This rubbing of a snake and tortoise, splendid in design, on a stone in Ch'êng-tu may preserve an echo of his style.

British Museum

In T'ao Yüan-ming, or T'ao Ch'ien, as he called himself towards the close of his life, we see the Taoist spirit at its purest and brightest. His verses are the outpourings of a poet intensely sensitive to the beauties of nature, who is content to daff the world aside, living the life of a recluse in the enjoyment of the simplest pleasures. Such is the spirit that informs his famous poetical-prose rhapsody, Home Again, which celebrates his retirement to the country. T'ao Ch'ien is beyond question the chief literary figure of the period intervening between the Han and the T'ang. Here is a specimen of his verse:

> I have built me a house in a populous quarter,
> Yet I hear no noises of horses and carts.
> Ask you me, how that can be?
> Where the mind is abstracted, locality seems to fade away.
> I pick chrysanthemums under the eastern hedge,
> And gaze afar at the hill in the south.
> Fair is the prospect at the close of day,
> When birds are flying home in pairs . . .
> In all this there lies a hidden meaning,
> But words fail me when I try to express it.

Wang Hsi-chih also was an author of no small merit, but his fame rests mainly on his achievements in calligraphy, an art of which he is generally considered to be the supreme exponent. In China, where the script lends itself so well to artistic treatment, it is no wonder that the calligraphist should be highly esteemed and placed almost, if not quite, on a par with the painter. Pictorial art seems to have developed rather late among the Chinese; at any rate our information about painters and painting under the Han dynasty reduces itself mostly to legends of the Apelles-and-the-grapes order. One or two really fine painters are said to have flourished in the third century, but the first name of outstanding importance is that of Ku K'ai-chih, who was a younger contemporary of Wang Hsi-chih.

UNIQUE EXAMPLE OF T'ANG ARTISTRY

What T'ang artists could achieve is shown by this more than life-size figure of white clay glazed green and yellow, probably from a mountain shrine in Chihli. It is of a Lohan (the Chinese translation of Arhat, or disciple of the Buddha), and has a compelling fascination, human yet serenely aloof.

British Museum

Owing to a singular piece of good fortune, this early artist is actually better known to us than any who lived under the T'ang and Sung dynasties, for in 1903 the British Museum acquired a painting attributed to Ku K'ai-chih, which was taken from the Palace in Peking during the Boxer disturbances. It is in the form of a long roll, and consists of a series of scenes illustrating The Admonitions of the Preceptress to the Court Ladies, a tract written in the third century which is still extant. In many places the picture has been clumsily restored and touched up with fresh color, but enough remains of the original design to show that it was a veritable masterpiece. The figures are admirably painted, with a beauty of line that later ages have never surpassed; only the landscape is of a primitive character, recalling some of the early Italian pictures. Whether this painting can be regarded as the actual handiwork of Ku K'ai-chih is still an open question; but, in any case, it preserves one of the artist's designs, and shows that figure painting at this date had already reached maturity.

About the time of Ku K'ai-chih's death (c. 406), the famous series of Buddhist rock-sculptures at Yün-kang was commenced under the auspices of the Toba emperors of Northern Wei. Numerous grottoes, hollowed out of a cliff, were filled with carvings and statues of Buddhist deities, revealing the birth of a new type of art. The finest of these images are executed with a rhythmic grace that is unsurpassed; but some of the others show a certain crudity of treatment which may perhaps be attributed to the element of Tatar inspiration. This is no longer observable in the Lung-mên grot-

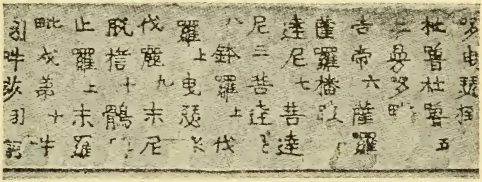
toes of Honan, which were begun about A.D. 500, and contain work belonging mainly to the three following centuries. Here we have the culminating point of Buddhist art in China.

Hardly any examples of Han architecture remain, and sculpture is mostly represented by small objects of bronze, jade or clay. Later on, the process of dry lacquer was invented, which combined hardness with lightness and durability. That plastic art, however, had outgrown the stage of infancy long before it was transformed by Buddhist influence is attested by the fine bas-reliefs found in tombs of the Later Han, especially at the Wu-liang cemetery in the south-west corner of Confucius' old province of Shantung. In these reliefs the delineation of the figures is simple and masterly.

During the fourth century the influence of Buddhism was making itself felt in a marked degree. There was a constant stream of foreign monks entering China, and in 335 the priesthood was thrown open to the Chinese themselves. Large monasteries were then erected all over northern China, and we are told that nine-tenths of the common people adopted the new faith. Kumarajiva was the most popular of the numerous translators of the scriptures: his version of the Diamond Stura has probably been more read than any other single book, with the exception of the Confucian classics. Bodhidharma, who ranks as the twenty-eighth patriarch of India and the first of China, came to Canton by sea in 520, and thence to the court at Nanking. He taught that religion was not to be learned from books, but that man should seek and find the Buddha in his own heart. This doctrine (known as Zen), which has many affinities with Taoism, lies at the root of the mystic and symbolic art that reached perfection in the Sung dynasty. A succession of Chinese monks also found their way to India in order to collect sacred books and relics and to visit the holy places.

While almost every form of art was being reshaped or even revolutionized by Buddhism, literature alone remained unaffected, and until Wang Wei (699-759) we find not a single writer of the first rank whose work shows any sympathy with the alien religion. This may be partly due to the fact that the first period of Buddhist ascendancy coincided with a barren patch in literature as a whole. For two centuries after T'ao Ch'ien poetry languished. A great deal was written, but very little rose above mediocrity. It was pretty but shallow; or, in the phrase of one critic, 'all flowers and moonlight.'

In mastery of technique the T'ang poets far excelled their predecessors; on the other hand, it may seem to a foreigner, unable to appreciate the niceties of style, that form was often valued above content, and matter subordinated to manner. To him a Chinese poem may appear unsatisfactory because it lacks body or substance. This criticism, however, rests largely on a misapprehension of the ideal which a Chinese poet sets before himself. He does not wish to treat his theme exhaustively, but prefers to leave a great deal to the reader's imagination. His object is to open up trains of thought, not to pursue them at length; not to elaborate the emotions aroused by a landscape, for instance, but to find just the right word which will give a clue to his feelings. In a word, the essentials of a Chinese poem are shortness, suggestiveness and symmetry; and it is because the T'ang poets combined these three essentials with such perfection that their work



EARLIEST SPECIMEN OF CHINESE PRINTING

Found at Kichik Hassar in Turkistan, these Chinese Buddhist charms printed in black and red date from the eighth century, and are thus earlier than the roll below. They confirm the literary evidence of an entry in the Japanese annals stating that a million such charms were printed in A.D. 770.

British Museum, Stein Collection

BLOCK PRINTING IN THE NINTH CENTURY TO REPRODUCE A BUDDHIST TEXT

Sir Aurel Stein's discoveries in Turkistan illuminated the question when block-printing was invented in China. This portion of a roll found in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas is the earliest dated example (A.D. 868), while its finish suggests that the invention was made a century before. The whole roll is 16 feet long and contains a Chinese translation of a Buddhist scripture, the Diamond Sutra.

British Museum, Stein Collection

has remained a model for succeeding generations. The artistic reticence of the Chinese shows itself also in their fondness for half tones and delicate coloring; robustness of treatment and strong, coarse effects are not to their taste. It has been pointed out that their favorite seasons are spring and autumn: hardly ever do they give us a picture of summer, which is too opulent for their refined emotions.

A Ming writer has divided the T'ang dynasty into four periods: the first covers about a hundred years; the second more or less coincides with the reign of Hsüan Tsung; the third brings us down to about 835, and the fourth to the end of the dynasty in 907. Most of the great names fall in the second period, and of these, Tu Fu and Li Po stand first.

Li Po was a true child of nature. His thought may not be profound, but it is exquisitely expressed, and his verses have the 'curiosa felicitas' that makes the Odes of Horace immortal. He was also one of the most famous Bacchanalians in history; and, though wine and song are traditionally associated, one would hardly expect the greatest poetry to be written by one who was so seldom sober. This is typical:

Come, let us cleanse the soul of its immemorial griefs,
Draining in quick succession a hundred cups of wine.
The night is fair, and fit for sweet converse,
For one cannot sleep while the moon shines so bright . . .
When drunkenness o'ercomes us, we will couch on the bare hillside,

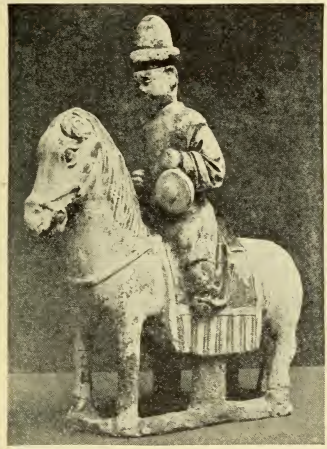
With Earth as our pillow and Heaven as our coverlet.

And this poem shows his mastery of pathos without a touch of sentimentality:

To-morrow the courier starts on his journey.
All night long she is busy lining the soldier's cloak,
Until the fair hands plying the needle are so cold
That they scare have the power to hold the scissors.
Her handiwork will be sent along a distant road . . .
How many days will have passed ere it reaches the frontier?

Tu Fu's mind was composed of elements more subtle and refined, while at the same time his range is wider, touching the thoughts and emotions of humanity on many sides. Less of a Bohemian than Li Po, he had something of the same restlessness which made him shun settled employment and take delight in lonely wanderings over the face of the country. Melancholy in grain, he broods over the fleeting nature of life, the rapid approach of old age with its infirmities, the nothingness of individual hopes and aspirations; he lacks the insouciance of his brother-poet, and is unable to drown his sorrows in wine. His verses are more reflective than pictoral in their quality, and often overweighted with obscure allusions; but we seldom fail to catch in them an echo of the 'still, sad music of humanity.' Comparatively little of his poetry has been translated, so much of it being well-nigh untranslatable. Here are some verses addressed to Li Po towards the end of his career:

Long is it since I saw thee, friend Li . . .
Didst thou feign madness? Truly, my heart yearns for thee.
While other men are set upon thy destruction,
I alone have a dear regard for thy genius.
Now, after pouring out thy treasures of wit in a thousand poems,
A lonely wanderer, art thou reduced to a single cup of wine?



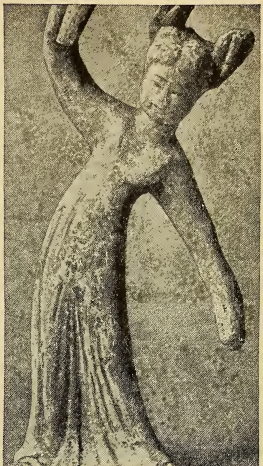
FAMILIAR CHINESE TYPES FROM TOMBS OF THE T'ANG DYNASTY

Glimpses of Chinese social life from other than literary sources begin to multiply in the period under review. In Chapters 62 and 66 there have been shown the models buried in tombs under the Han dynasty; these far more finished figures, in unglazed pottery, are T'ang examples. Two ladies and (center) a mounted warrior. The horse of the last has an excellent head, but the legs are mere stands.

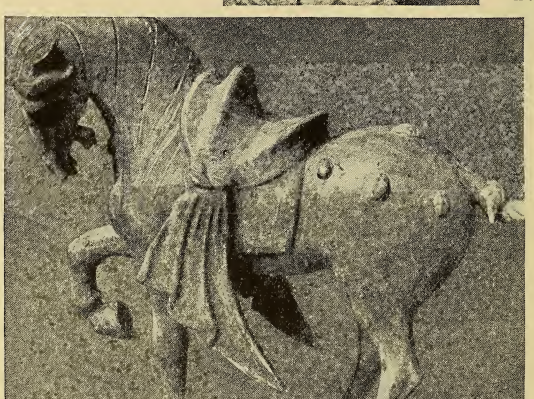
Victoria and Albert Museum

To thy old place of study
on Mount K'uang,
White-haired, it were
well to return.

As this wonderful age saw the production of China's noblest poetry, so it was the begetter of her grandest and most vigorous art. The working life of Wu Tao-tze coincides almost exactly with the reign of Hsüan Tsung, who was a generous patron of all the fine arts. Unfortunately no original painting from the hand of this great master is known certainly to have survived, and we are driven to form what idea we can of his tremendous power and superb draughtsmanship from a few pictures in various collections which profess to be later copies of his work. Thus in the British Museum there is a large picture called The Death of Buddha, done by a Japanese artist, and a rubbing of an incised stone, representing a snake coiled round a tortoise. Each is magnificent in design and composition, and makes us realize that the praises showered on Wu Tao-tze by his fellow-countrymen are not exaggerated.



Although he would have disclaimed the name of Taoist, Po Chü-i, the greatest poet of the third period of the T'ang, is one of those who seem most deeply imbued with Taoist ideals. He began a reaction against the growing artificiality and obscurity of poetic diction, and wrote with directness and simplicity; in this as well as in his unaffected love of nature and sympathy with common folk, he often recalls Wordsworth. His countrymen do not usually accord to him quite the same rank as to Tu Fu and Li Po, but his quaint and homely verse strikes a peculiarly modern note that is very attractive to Western readers. Th



COURT LIFE REVEALED IN MASTERLY FIGURES OF UNGLAZED POTTERY

These figures, also of unglazed pottery, are of even greater technical accomplishment than those in the preceding page. Magnificently vigorous and correctly modeled is the horse, showing that the one opposite is not representative of the period's best art. The other statuette is a dancing woman captured in characteristic pose.

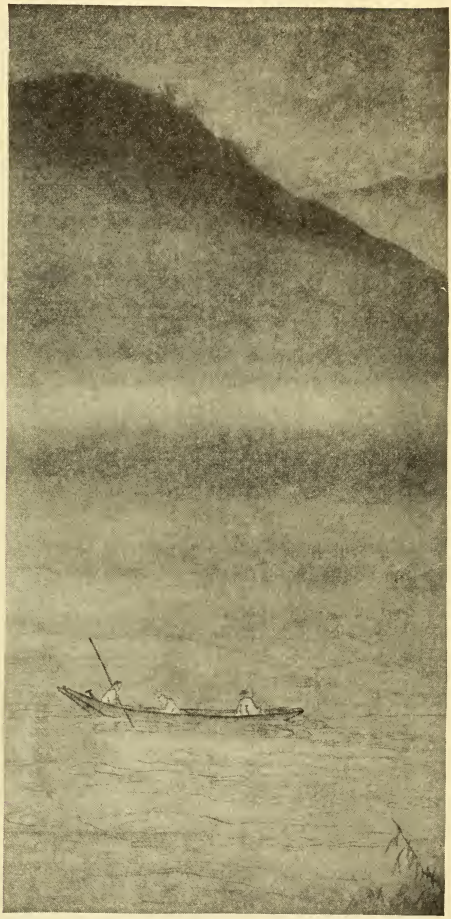
Collection of Mr. George Eumorfopoulos

following piece, The Loss of a Pet Crane, has not been translated into English before:

It was lost when snow lay in
the courtyard below;
It flew away when the wind
was on the sea.
In the topmost heaven it must
have found a mate,
For three nights have passed,
and it has not returned to
its cage.
Its cry is inaudible, far above
the purple clouds;
Its shadow is lost amidst the
bright moonlight.
Alas! who will henceforth
bear me company,
As I sit, a white-headed man,
in my studio?

The final period of the T'ang may show some falling-off after these great names, but there were many writers whose light would have shone more brightly in a sky less thickly sown with stars of the first magnitude. One of these, named Wei Chuang, who would not perhaps have called for mention on his own merits, has received much attention in the literary world owing to the discovery in Tun Huang of a popular ballad which was famous in its day, but had been lost for 900 years. In it Wei Chuang describes the experiences of a lady who fell into the hands of the rebels when the capital was sacked in A.D. 881. The following lines present an appalling picture of the once magnificent city after the storm had passed:

Ch'ang-an lies in mournful
stillness: what does it now
contain?
—Ruined markets and desolate
streets, in which ears of
wheat are sprouting . . .
The Han-yüan Hall is the
haunt of foxes and hares.
The approach to the Flower-
calyx Belvedere is a mass of
brambles and thorns.



MA YUAN'S ROMANTIC LANDSCAPE STYLE

T'ang and earlier painting had valued precision and detail, and this was inherited by the Sung school. But a group of painters, of whom Ma Yüan was one, developed a 'romantic' style of diluted colors and blurred outlines, well seen in the Boating by Moonlight attributed to him.

Eumorfopoulos Collection

All the pomp and splendor of the olden days
  are buried and passed away;
Only a dreary waste meets the eye: the old
  familiar objects are no more.
The Inner Treasury is burnt down, its
  tapestries and embroideries a heap of
  ashes;
All along the Street of Heaven one treads
  on the bones of state officials.

Before passing on, it is necessary to say something at this point about the invention of printing, which is now known to date back to the eighth century at least. According to the generally accepted account, the inventor was one Fêng Tao, a slippery politician who served under four dynastic houses, and died in 954. But some Chinese writers have stated that printing began in the Sui dynasty, or about three centuries and a half before Fêng Tao. The truth seems to lie somewhere between these two extremes.

Among the Chinese manuscripts brought from Tun Huang by Sir Aurel Stein there are about a dozen printed texts, four of which bear exact dates, the earliest being 868; this date appears on a beautifully printed roll, sixteen feet long, containing the whole of the Diamond Sutra, together with an engraved frontispiece. A cursory glance at this roll makes it evident that the printer's craft had then reached a high degree of technical perfection, and that a century might very well have elapsed since the first experiments in printing had been made. This inference is borne out by an entry in the Japanese annals which records the printing of a million Buddhist charms in the year 770. A number of these charms, each consisting of about a hundred Chinese characters rudely printed on an oblong slip of paper, are still in existence, one being in the British Museum. It follows that printing of some sort must have originated in China long enough before 770 to have been by that time carried across to Japan, and it may turn out that another title of glory will have to be added to the reign of Hsüan Tsung.

Whether or not it was their actual invention, printing seems to have been monopolized for a long time by the

BIRD ON THE BOUGH: A GEM OF SUNG ART

A product of the Sung school of painting more normal than the misty landscapes of Li T'ang and Ma Yüan is this charming study of a bird on a bough by an anonymous artist; every feather and the veining of every leaf have their place. But the same feeling for nature that informs Sung poetry is evident in both.

Eumorfopoulos Collection

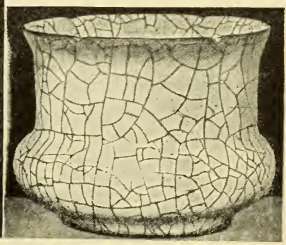
Buddhists, who found in it an admirable means of 'acquiring merit' through the multiplication of charms, prayers and sutras. It was only the enterprise of Fêng Tao that caused the Confucianists to follow suit with the first printed edition of the Classics. Soon after this event printing was in full swing, and Sung editions are still eagerly sought after as models of graceful workmanship.

What has been said so far has reference, of course, to block printing only. But movable type was also invented in China as far back as the middle of the eleventh century, and the process has been described for us in detail by an eyewitness. The types were made first of clay, afterwards of tin, and apparently also of wood. The new invention, however, did not by any means supersede block-printing, which (until the introduction of modern scientific methods) was found much better suited to the non-alphabetic script of the Chinese.

What was the general effect of printing on Chinese literature? For a long time it seems to have had very little effect at all, certainly none that is comparable with the intellectual revolution it brought about in Europe. But it must be remembered that printing came to China and to the West at very different stages of their cultural development. When Gutenberg started his printing-press the nations of Europe were only just beginning to emerge from the long torpor of the Middle Ages, and, except in Italy, literature was still in the rudimentary stage. In China printing came into use precisely at a time when her Golden Age was drawing to a close. A magnificent literature, stretching back over a thousand years, was already in being. In poetry, history and philosophy the high-water mark had been reached, and the tide was decidedly on the ebb.

Printing in the West was a secular invention, and used for secular ends. In China it was the Buddhist church that first realized the enormous potentialities of the new invention, and turned them to good account for purposes of propaganda. In the end, however, thanks to the foresight of Fêng Tao, the benefits of printing were equally shared by the Confucianists; indeed, the Confucian revival that took place under the Sung dynasty may be indirectly traced to the wide dissemination of the Classics made possible by printing.

The Sung dynasty (A.D. 960-1279) had peculiar difficulties to contend with from first to last; chief among them being the Mongol invasions which at length for the first time in history brought the whole of China under an alien yoke. It is all the more remarkable that it should have been



PERFECT SHAPE MARRIED TO PERFECT COLOR: GLAZED POTTERY OF SUNG DATE

We do not know when porcelain was first made in China; the Han dynasty is suggested by literary evidence, but the earliest examples that we possess are Sung. All of them are coated with monochrome or multi-colored glazes, and rarely if ever painted like later wares. Left, chrysanthemum pot in brown and white; right, Ko Yao crackle ware. The last results from a process invented in the twelfth century by a potter called Chang, who was probably taken by the 'crackling' produced accidentally through imperfect firing.

Collection of Mr. George Eumorfopoulos

able to foster a literature and an art which stand second only to those of T'ang. There may not be the same originality and grandeur of conception that we discover in the T'ang authors; but, by way of compensation, the quality both of the verse and the prose is more limpid, musical and refined. The rules of composition were more studied, the phraseology more polished. Among the writers of the eleventh century, which was marvellously rich in talent, two claim special notice. Ou-yang Hsiu, historian, essayist and poet, is one of the acknowledged masters of literary style, and a peculiar grace seems to emanate from all his writings. His lightness of touch, and the charm with which he can invest truly philosophic thought, may be seen to advantage in two of his most admired compositions, The Old Drunkard's Arbour and The Autumn Dirge, typical products of his genius.

WOOD CARVING FROM A CHINESE TEMPLE

In its own sphere, that of wood sculpture, this Sung figure of Kuanyin almost ranks beside the pottery Lohan in page 1422. It is built up of many pieces of wood and was once covered with a thin surface of gesso brilliantly painted, much of which has worn off and some been restored.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Of equal versatility and even more commanding genius is Ou-yang Hsiu's younger contemporary and friend Su Tung-p'o, whose place in the very front rank of Chinese poets cannot be disputed. He combines elegance with deep feeling, and his descriptions of nature are suffused with a romantic glow of haunting beauty such as we find in no other Chinese poet, either before or after. Needless to say, he suffers much in translation. This is a specimen of the impressionistic poem which the Chinese call a 'stop-short':

A single hour in an evening
of spring is worth a fortune of gold,
When the flowers exhale
pure scents and the moon
is half-seen amid clouds.
Faintly the sound of music
is borne from yon high
banqueting hall,
And a garden-swing is being rocked somewhere in
the darkness.

The same intimate feeling for nature in all her aspects permeates Sung painting. We know little or nothing about the landscape art of T'ang, but it is hard to imagine that it reached sublimer heights than are revealed in the pictures attributed to Kuo Hsi, Mi Fei and other Sung masters. The

religious painting of the time is not less renowned; the majestic, superhuman figures of Buddhist saints which tradition ascribes, rightly or wrongly, to the brush of Li Lung-emin show a balance and harmony of design and color that can only be paralleled in Western art by the masterpieces of Raphael.

In the domain of history and philosophy the Sung period may be pronounced definitely superior to the T'ang. Ssŭ-ma Kuang's Mirror of History, the fruit of twenty years of unremitting toil, was the most comprehensive as well as the most brilliantly written work of its kind that had appeared since the Han dynasty; and one has to go back further still in order to meet with any philosophical speculations that can compare, in originality and depth, with the Confucianist system that was evolved by a school of Sung thinkers and culminated in the work of Chu Hsi.

In taking a general survey of Chinese literature, one cannot help being struck by its very slow growth and its tenacious adherence to approved forms. Fresh departures and sudden developments are rare, but when once a new literary form has won recognition it passes into the national heritage and tends to reappear in each succeeding generation. Thus, the five-word and seven-word meters which were introduced in the Earlier Han dynasty formed the vehicle of the beautiful lyrics composed in the age of T'ang, and no change of fashion has been able to displace them since. Likewise, the rules of prosody which were formulated at least thirteen hundred years ago, artificial though they were in many respects, have always remained in force, and it is only since the Revolution of 1911 that they have been seriously challenged.

The same conservatism shows itself in every department of literature. The first 'standard' history, written by Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien in the first century B.C., has been followed at intervals by twenty-three others, all modelled on similar lines. Many of the essays, memorials and dissertations produced in the Sung period, about the time of the Battle of Hastings, might have been written by Chinese contemporaries of Cicero for all the change that is observable in the language and style. This extreme slowness in development, which our more restless minds can hardly distinguish from stagnation, must be attributed in some measure to the fixed and unalterable nature of the written language. A character, standing as it does not for a sound but for an idea, is just as intelligible now as it was two or three thousand years ago.

All spoken languages are subject to change, Chinese like any other. There is no doubt that the pronunciation of Chinese in the T'ang period was very different from what it is to-day; and if this change of pronunciation had been reflected in the script the Chinese would have even more difficulty in reading Li Po than Englishmen have in reading Langland and Chaucer. As it is, the whole of their ancient literature is open to anyone who has learned the characters, which are exempt from changes of spelling and for the most part retain the meanings that they bore in the time of Confucius.

The great writers of China can therefore count on 'immortality' in a fuller sense than those of the West. With all the accumulated cream of past literature at their disposal, one cannot wonder that the Chinese are conservative in their taste and inclined to look askance at innovations. It seems to have required the violent shock of the Mongol conquest to throw them temporarily out of their time-honored grooves; at any rate, it was during the comparatively short dynasty founded by Kublai Khan (see Chap. 99) that two virgin fields, the drama and the novel, were first brought under cultivation.

IMPORTANT SITES AND CULTURAL AREAS OF PREHISTORIC AMERICA

The complex tribal names of pre-Columbian America can be simplified into a scheme of cultural areas; it should be noted that the 'Buffalo Area' in prehistoric times, as shown above, was probably more restricted than it later became. The chief civilizations that arose were confined to the area of intensive agriculture: the Maya in Honduras, Guatemala and (later) Yucatan, and the pre-Inca between southern Colombia and Bolivia. *After Clark Wissler*

A STUDY OF AMERICAN ORIGINS

THE STONE AGE CIVILIZATIONS OF THE NEW WORLD WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MAYA AND PRE-INCA

By THOMAS A. JOYCE

Sub-Keeper, Department of Ethnography, British Museum; Author of Maya and Mexican Archaeology, Maya and Mexican Art, etc.

THE American continents, stretching practically from pole to pole, present every variety of climate, altitude and physical surroundings, from arid deserts to sweltering jungle; and the enormous variety of environment was necessarily reflected in the material culture of the aborigines.

As far as is known, the American aborigines were brown-skinned, the quality of brown varying almost from what is known as yellow to a not very deep chocolate. Their hair was universally long and straight (the microscopic section shows a circle and not the oval of most Europeans), and was universally scanty on face and body. As regards skull formation, two types are found which shade one into the other. These are the relatively long heads and the relatively broad heads. The long-heads show a comparatively aquiline development of face, while the broad-heads display a more infantile type of physiognomy. Now the two qualities of skin-color and hair bring the American into closer relationship with the eastern Asiatic than with any other variety of mankind; and, though long-headed and broad-headed stocks are found in Europe, the long-headed and broad-headed types in America correspond respectively to the northern and southern Mongoloid peoples of Asia.

The next question that arises is the origin of the American population—whether truly indigenous; whether introduced from Europe; whether from Asia; or whether a combination of two or more elements. Now, in the first place no creature from which Man could have been evolved has been discovered, even in fossil form, in America—not even a tailless ape. Secondly, no human remains, or implements attributable to human agency, have been found in geological surroundings which can give them an antiquity even remotely comparable with that of palaeolithic man in Europe. These two facts, combined with the undoubted similarities which the American aborigines bear to the peoples of Eastern Asia, seem to preclude the possibility of an independent origin for Man in America.

He must have arrived, then, either from the east or the west. As regards the eastern route, from Europe, there are three possibilities. First there is the North Atlantic route by way of the Faroes, Iceland, Greenland and Labrador; but even if Leif Ericsson achieved the very difficult passage, the three formidable stretches of open sea involved in the crossing would present an effectual barrier to primitive man.

Secondly, the trade winds and mid-Atlantic currents might bring an accidental craft to Central America; but this route would hardly suffice for a stream of immigration sufficient to people a continent which presented, in Central America, a high degree of civilization before the birth of Christ. There remains the fabled Atlantis, the continent connecting Africa and South America, which on the authority of Plato is credited with being the link between Egyptian and Central American civilization. Geologists agree in the main that there once existed a land connexion (or at any rate a mid-Atlantic continent) which provided a bridge between the Old and New Worlds. But they agree that it had disappeared long before the existence of Man. Again, the very source of the legend is suspect; Plato, though a philosopher (perhaps because he was a philosopher), was a

novelist. It is, moreover, incredible that if it were a current tradition in the Old World this Atlantis story, claimed to have been received from Egyptian sources, should have been unknown to Homer, Hesiod and above all Herodotus (who visited Egypt), and should never have appeared in literature until the comparatively late time of Plato.

On the Asiatic side, however, attention is immediately focussed upon Bering Strait, where the gap between the two continents is only some forty miles; and another suggestion is the chain of islands, the Commander and Aleutian groups, extending from Kamchatka to Alaska. But the gap between the two groups is 300 miles wide, and no traces of human occupancy have ever been found on the Commanders. Further, the ocean currents which set from Japan to the northwest coast of America may have brought occasional craft from Asia. It is not beyond possibility that the inhabitants of Polynesia reached the coast of South America; we know well that this intrepid race of seafarers accomplished the most remarkable voyages in the course of their colonization of the Pacific Islands. But Easter Island, the nearest of the Polynesian islands to the American coast, is well over a thousand miles distant. Moreover, it has been fairly well established that the Polynesians did not occupy the islands of the eastern Pacific until some centuries after the semi-civilizations of Central America and Peru were fully established.

In the absence of any written historical records (for the historical details, if any, contained in the Maya inscriptions have not yet been deciphered) we are forced to rely on the investigations made by field archaeologists interpreted in the light of what we know of the natives at the time of, and after, the Discovery. Tribal traditions often shed a valuable side-light on the archaeology. But such traditions tend more and more to shade into myth as the chronological records recede into antiquity.

From the economic point of view it has been found useful to classify primitive man under four main headings: collectors, hunters, pastoralists and agriculturists. Pastoral life, however, played a very small part in the economics of ancient America. It was confined to the highlands of Peru and Bolivia, where herds of llama and alpaca were bred for their wool, the former also being used as a beast of burden. Elsewhere the only mammal of economic importance was the dog, used by the Eskimo and inhabitants of the great central plains for traction.

The fringe of the Arctic coast, from Greenland to Alaska, was occupied in quite early times by Eskimo tribes, who had developed a highly specialized culture to meet the requirements of the unpromising environment. Such archaeological researches as have been made tend to show that this culture has remained essentially unchanged for many centuries. Winter sealing, combined with caribou and musk-ox hunting in summer, were the principal occupations. Garments were made of skin; and the textile industry was absent save for a little basket making over a very restricted area. Implements and

SINGLE OUTLET FOR THE ARTISTIC GENIUS OF THE ESKIMO

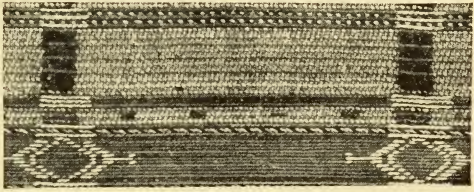
The whole culture of the Eskimo in the far north of the American continent is specialized to deal with their Arctic environment, and their art, like that of Palaeolithic Europe, was limited to the pictorial reproduction of daily life in a naturalistic style. The medium was usually bone or ivory, which during the long months of winter inactivity was carved into vivid scenes like those above: boats, tents, the drying of skins, and the hunting of reindeer and bear.

From F. A. Parkyn, Prehistoric Art

veapons were in the main of stone or late.

Pottery was unknown, except as an obsolete art in the extreme east. Typical of the district are a very highly specialized form of harpoon and a stone lamp used with oil for giving light and heat. Agriculture was non-existent; but the long periods of inaction during the Arctic winter provided the Eskimo with leisure to develop the art of carving, especially in ivory, to a high degree of perfection.

South of the Eskimo and east of the Rockies is a wide region of tundra and (towards the south) sparse forest, inhabited by roving Indian tribes of the Athapascan and Algonquian stocks, whose main support was the herds of caribou which they followed in the course of their migrations. The moose was also hunted in certain areas. Archaeological remains are scarce in this area, and it is probable that this part of America has never been occupied by any save nomads.



AMERICAN FABRIC OF BASKET WORK

Akin to the Eskimo in the one fact, at least, that they were hunters and 'collectors' and had no knowledge of agriculture, were the American-Indian tribes of the north-west coast. They developed, however, amazing proficiency in basket work, even twining cloaks that rivalled the products of the loom.

British Museum

South of this region, and extending from south-central Canada through Wyoming and North Dakota and the states immediately below them into Texas, lie the great plains of central North America. This is the buffalo area, and again we find a series of more or less nomadic hunting tribes, Athapascan, Algonquian, Siouan, Shoshonean and a number of others. The archaeological remains do not show a very marked differentiation from those of the preceding region; on the borders, however, particularly on the east and south-west, traces of greater technical development appear, including pottery.

It is believed that the buffalo area was far more restricted in early days than in historical times, but that the spread of the animal led many more sedentary tribes to take up a hunting life. This early 'back-to-the-wilds' movement was intensified by the rapid spread of the horse over the continent after the Discovery, which at first made buffalo hunting both easy and profitable, but ended in the practical extermination of the herds.

Before approaching the agricultural areas, two others demand consideration. The first of these is the strip of coast-line on the north-west of the continent, extending from Alaska, through British Columbia, into Washington and Oregon and including Queen Charlotte and Vancouver Islands. The rivers of this coast are visited yearly by mighty swarms of salmon, which were the chief mainstay of the human population of whom the Thlinkit, Haida, Tsimshian and Kwakiutl are typical. But though the salmon was the mainstay, this region provided many other resources in land and sea animals, also in vegetable products, especially edible berries. The culture built up on these foundations stood relatively high, but rather apart from the rest of America. It shows certain similarities to that of the Gilyak of Sakhalien in Asia, and the 'Asiatic' type of physiognomy is more pronounced.

Particular features of the local culture are the construction of large permanent dwellings of wood, arranged in villages, which provided the winter residences of the tribes; seagoing canoes of large size, far superior to any other craft in America; exceptional skill in carving wood, and an artistic sense remarkable for the purity of its line; advanced development in basket work, leading to the construction of cloaks of cedar-bark fiber, mountain-sheep wool and mountain-goat hair, almost to be classed as weaving, but fundamentally basket work of the sort known as 'twined'; excellent stone implements, supplemented by a little copper,

imported from the Arctic; and the entire absence of pottery and agriculture.

Farther south, in the Columbia-Fraser region and California, were a series of tribes who may be classed as collectors. Hunting was, of course, practiced, also fishing, but the mainstay of the population was the vegetable produce provided by nature in the shape of acorns, berries and nuts. To secure these the various tribes circulated in limited areas, according to the season when the natural harvests were due, returning to more or less permanent settlements with the store which sufficed for the winter season. At the same time fish formed an important article of diet of the tribes living directly on the coast. While the historical tribes had built up a relatively high material culture on the basis of intensive 'collecting,' there is evidence, provided by the shell heaps on the coast, that a far more primitive type of 'collector' existed there in earlier times.

RUINED VILLAGE OF THE PUEBLO INDIANS

Agriculture in North America was practised with greatest intensity in the southernmost states of the U.S.A., and here civilization reached its highest level. The people are known as the Pueblo Indians, from their having dwelt in villages ('pueblos')—many-storeyed complexes of sun-baked mud like Pueblo Bonita.

Photo, Ernest Peterffy

The material culture of this area exhibits a very advanced technique in the production of implements of flaked stone, and, especially in California, abundance of fine symmetrical mortars hewn out of the solid rock. In particular the art of basket work was carried to a degree of perfection which is unsurpassed in the world. Apart from the stone mortar, the basket was the universal utensil, being light, portable and admirably adapted to the storage of vegetable products. So perfect a technique had been developed by the time of the Discovery that baskets were used as water vessels, and even for boiling, the water being heated by means of hot stones. Pottery and agriculture are entirely absent from this area; and though the linguistic stocks and minor variations of culture are very diversified, it presents, from the economic point of view, a more or less consistent whole.

East of the buffalo country lies a large region comprising the eastern states and a portion of south-east Canada. It can be divided into several archaeological areas, but presents the feature that maize was cultivated throughout, though not everywhere to the same degree. The middle and lower Mississippi Valley appears to have been the area of most intensive agriculture, and here the archaeological remains indicate that material culture was developed on a broader basis than in any region so far considered. This is the region of great mounds and earthworks, once thought to be of enormous antiquity and the work of a vanished people. Later researches have shown that they were used as village sites up to, and even after, the Discovery, and were almost certainly constructed by the ancestors of the historical Indians, tribes of the Algonquian, Iroquoian, Siouan, Chitimacha and Caddoan stocks.

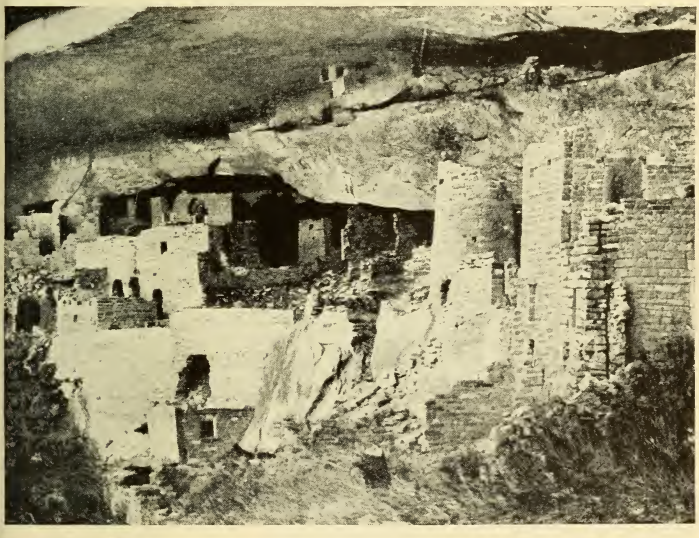
Evidence of a more advanced culture is provided by the presence of stone implements, ornaments and ceremonial objects, both chipped and polished, showing a very highly developed technique, and even by occasional sculpture. Pottery also is found in quantities, of good quality, with incised or painted ornament. Copper, too, derived from the

rich metallic deposits on Lake Superior, was known and used in the manufacture of ornaments and weapons. Moreover textiles were manufactured, not on a true loom, but by means of a suspended warp. Similar conditions seem to have extended through the upper Mississippi Valley to the area of the Great Lakes, but there is a progressive deterioration in material culture. The mounds, some of them in animal form, continue up to Wisconsin, yet there are indications that agriculture, as we go north, played a less, and hunting a more, important part in the economic life.

The culture of the Mississippi Valley grades almost imperceptibly into that of Florida and part of southern Georgia, formerly peopled by the Muskhogean and Timucuan tribes. Here also stone art attained a high level, as well as pottery.

To proceed north from Georgia to the St. Lawrence, the eastern states provide remains which indicate a less highly developed material culture than that of the Mississippi Valley. Maize cultivation was less general, and hunting and fishing played a more important part in economic life. Stone work was good, though inferior to that of the last area, and certain objects, probably of ceremonial significance, known as 'bird stones' and 'banner stones' display considerable skill in manufacture. The art of pottery was more or less rudimentary, though over part of the area weaving by means of a suspended warp was practised in some degree.

The close connection between the development of the potter's art and intensive agriculture, which seems to be indicated in the archaeology of the eastern states, is very strongly supported by the remains discovered in the arid plateaux and canyons of Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New



MARVELOUS CAVE HOME BUILT BY AMERICAN TROGLODYTES

Not all the Pueblo Indians lived in the 'pueblos' that have given them their name; some of the most astonishing remains of the region are the habitations of the cliff dwellers. These made use of the sides and back walls of shallow caverns, often artificially enlarged, to aid in building adobe and masonry conglomerations of the 'pueblo' type, but preferably many feet from the ground up the face of a cliff. Such is the 'Cliff Palace,' above, of Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado.

Mexico and northern Mexico. This was the home of the so-called Pueblo Indians, living in organized settled communities and dependent principally on their maize plantations for sustenance. Here the art of building was more elaborately developed than anywhere else in the States or Canada. Caves, numerous in the rocky walls of the canyons, were modified and supplemented with masonry and 'adobe' (sun-baked clay) to provide permanent habitations. Conglomerate villages ('pueblos') were constructed of similar materials, roofed with beams, and consisted of cigar-box-like chambers plastered together like a wasp-comb and rising tier on tier, the flat roofs of the lower tiers serving as courtyards for the upper. The pueblo of Zuni exists to-day in a fair state of preservation, and is still inhabited by the descendants of the prehistoric architects.

Parallel with this development of architecture was a tremendous development in pottery. Riding across the New Mexican deserts, one frequently encounters tracts littered with pottery belonging to many periods, most of it of excellent technique. Excavation in ruined pueblos, now reduced by the lapse of time to mere mounds, has disclosed several periods of destruction and reconstruction, and at one site it has been possible to set in sequence ten different styles of pottery, extending over centuries of development.

GIGANTIC MAYA 'DATE MARKER'

The monolithic stelae of the Maya were erected to mark the passage of time, the date that each records being expressed in a series of glyphs; usually arranged in vertical columns of squares, as on this example at Quiriguá.

Photo, Dr. A. P. Maudslay

Especially interesting is the type of the earliest ware. All American pottery was made by hand, and the finest ware was produced by the 'coiling' process, similar in effect to that by which a coiled basket is made. In the earliest pottery these coils are apparent on the exterior of the pot, and serve an ornamental purpose. In later times they were smoothed off, and the surface decorated with slips of various colors. The suggestion is that the art of pottery was derived from that of coiled basket work. Sites have been found where the stratification of remains proves the art of basket making preceded that of pottery, and there is evidence baskets were sometimes lined with clay to render them watertight.

But if pottery making did not arise locally, it can hardly have been introduced from the north. The alternative is that it was introduced from southern Mexico or Guatemala, where in ancient times the ceramic art attained an even higher level, and where maize, probably, was first cultivated. Evidence of connection between the two areas is provided by the fact that the Pueblo Indians were accustomed to ornament certain ceremonial objects of shell and bone with a mosaic incrustation of turquoise and lignite. This art was practised on a larger scale in Mexico under the Aztec regime. But though there are important turquoise deposits in New Mexico there are none in

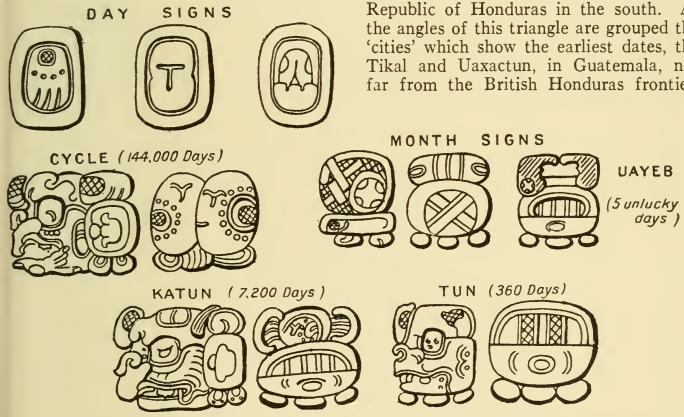
southern Mexico, and it is probable that the Aztec obtained their supplies from the Pueblo area, in all likelihood by indirect trade. Another indication of southern influence in the Pueblo area is the presence of a true loom and a flourishing textile industry. From this point southwards some form of loom existed throughout Central America, and down the Southern Pacific coast to the farthest confines of the Inca Empire.

It is clear that the Pueblo culture extended into northern Mexico, at any rate as far south as the site of Casas Grandes in Chihuahua; but there is no continuous chain of culture between it and the area directly influenced by the semi-civilization of the Mexican Valley, Toltec and Aztec. For instance, in this gap there are no evidences of architectual development. Maize cultivation and the potter's art constitute the principal link, though here neither attained the development characteristic of the regions immediately north and south. In the words of Holmes:

It is assumed that this region witnessed the passage southward of the racial currents which overspread Central Mexico in prehistoric times, reaching the culmination of their advancement and power in the Valley of Mexico at the period of the Spanish invasion; but it is not likely that the scattered antiquities will ever contribute materially to the elucidation of the events which led to Aztec domination.

Now the Aztec belong to a later chapter (Chap. 119), and before considering the pre-Aztec remains of the Mexican Valley it will be best to proceed farther south and survey briefly the area of Early Maya civilization, which not only was the source of Mexican culture, but was, in itself, one of the most remarkable phases of artistic and technical development in the history of human progress amongst peoples completely ignorant of bronze and iron.

The area of Early, as distinguished from later, Maya culture forms, roughly, an inverted triangle, the base running from the Mexican state of Chiapas eastward across Guatemala into British Honduras, and the apex extending into the Republic of Honduras in the south. At the angles of this triangle are grouped the 'cities' which show the earliest dates, the Tikal and Uaxactun, in Guatemala, not far from the British Honduras frontier.



SELECTED SIGNS FROM THE COMPLICATED CALENDAR OF THE MAYA

The original Maya time-unit was a 'month' of 20 named days running concurrently with a 'week' of 13 numbered days; these worked round to correspondence every 260 days. When the solar year was recognized it was divided into 18 named months of 20 days (= 360 days, a 'tun'), with an extra month of five unlucky days. Owing to these last the 'months' worked out of step on the two systems; but a day-sign, week-numeral, month-sign and month-numeral fixed the date in a calendar-round of 52 years.

From British Museum, Guide to the Maya Sculptures

MAYA TEMPLE CROWNING A STEPPED PYRAMID

The so-called 'pyramids' of the Maya are in no sense comparable with the Egyptian, for they were not tombs but were intended to lift a temple into a lofty and conspicuous position. Moreover, they were usually stepped. This fine but forest-grown specimen is at Tikal in Guatemala.

Photo, Dr. A. P. Maudslay

With these are grouped Naranjo and Benque Viejo. Next, in point of time, is Copan, far to the south, in the Republic of Honduras, and its offshoot, Quiriguá, just within the Guatemalan boundary. In the north-west stands Piedras Negras, Palenque and Menché. Of these Piedras Negras appears to be the oldest and Menché the latest, but none of these sites shows dates as early as Copan, which, in its turn, is certainly later than Uaxactun, and probably later than Tikal. The earliest dates, therefore, occur in the north-east of the area, and this point is worthy of notice in connection with any discussion of the origin of Maya culture.

Within this triangle have been discovered many groups of stone-built ruins, pyramidal mounds grouped about courts, often supporting temples decorated with elaborate carving or stucco work, and large sculptured monoliths and 'altars' bearing hieroglyphic inscriptions. Most of these monoliths are in the form of slabs or rectangular columns showing human figures, clad in elaborate costumes, carved in more or less high relief. But, during a certain period of its history, at Quiriguá (where the stela or column attained its greatest dimensions) the stela was replaced by a huge block sculptured in the shape of a grotesque monster.

CARICATURE AND PAINTING ON THE HAND-MADE POTTERY OF PERU

On the stoneless Peruvian coast outlet for art was found in pottery. Two centers, Truxillo and Nasca, flourished; the earliest pottery of the former ('proto-Chimu') excelled in form and was marked by a water bottle with narrow looped spout to check evaporation and facilitate carriage and pouring.

British Museum

Mention of these stelae introduces one of the outstanding features of Maya civilization, the invention and elaboration of a hieroglyphic script, the only instance in America.

The main content of Maya inscriptions appears to consist of elaborate date calculations, and these for the most part can be deciphered to-day. Interpretation, so far as it has proceeded, is based upon the account given by Landa, the first

bishop of Yucatan, of the day and month signs in use among the Yucatec Maya at the time of the conquest, and of their numerical system.

The Maya calendar contains two definite elements. First, a 260-day period obtained by the association of the numerals 1 to 13 with twenty day-signs; this ran in a continuous 'round.' But there was also a 365-day period, practically a solar year, divided into eighteen 'months,' each of twenty days, with a short 'month' of five days to complete the 365. A date was recorded by its day-sign with the attached numeral, together with a month-sign and a numeral showing its position in that month. But a similar combination of these four elements would reoccur every 52 years, and the early Maya provided against any mistake by prefacing any important date-record with a series of numerical glyphs expressing the distance of that particular date from one day in the remote past which was evidently the starting point of their calendar.

MAYA METHOD OF THE FALSE ARCH

A half-ruined building at Chichén Itzá well shows the Maya principle of the false arch. At a certain point the facing courses begin to incline inwards, each course overlapping the last, until the gap can be bridged with a single slab, stability being given by the immense weight of superimposed masonry.

Photo, Dr. A. P. Maudslay

A study of the inscriptions on the stelae at various sites shows that the early Maya were in the habit of erecting one of these monuments every twenty years (to be quite exact, every 20 × 360 days). A comparison of the dates, therefore, gives us an indication of the length of occupation of each site, together with some idea of its relative antiquity. But the correlation with European chronology is still a matter of considerable doubt, owing to the lack of continuity of record between the Early Maya and the later Maya of Yucatan and elsewhere who came in contact with the Spaniards. Bishop Landa burned every Maya manuscript that he could lay hands on; with the result that only three (one in two halves which are known by different names) survive, and only one of these is in Early Maya style.

There have been several attempts at correlating Early Maya chronology with our own. The theory which finds acceptance at the moment in England would place the earliest dated stela somewhere in the third century B.C.; while American archaeologists favor a dating some 300 years later.

But the presence of dated monuments in the early Maya area proves that this region was inhabited by a people of relatively high culture for some 500 years, during which period art and architecture, pottery and weaving, maintained an extraordinarily high level of excellence. Then, suddenly, silence. A period of comparatively few years covers the final dates at the most important sites, and it would appear that the whole population, or at any rate the main bulk of it, left the region and migrated north to Yucatan, where they founded the so-called Late Maya Empire. The cause, or causes, of this wholesale desertion of age-long settlements remains a mystery, but it is quite certain that these wonderful stone-built sites had long been uninhabited and swallowed up by the encroaching jungle when Cortés passed through the country.

This is one of the mysteries which are attached to Early Maya civilization. A second, even greater, concerns its origin; because even the monuments bearing the earliest dates exhibit a skill in workmanship, a conventionalized art and a highly developed symbolism, which imply a long period of development. Moreover, the day which forms the starting point of Early Maya chronology is some 3,000 years earlier than the earliest dated monument. Early Maya civilization, therefore, as far as revealed to us at present, appears, in its earliest dated phase, in full flower, a sort of Minerva springing in panoply from the head of Jove, and perishing with equal suddenness.

ROOF COMB ON A MAYA TEMPLE

One result of the false arch, which had to rise steeply in order to stand, was a very spacious pent or entablature for decoration in stone or stucco. This was often further enhanced by a roof comb, whose primary object was no doubt to provide extra weight; as in this temple at Palenque.

Photo, Dr. A. P. Maudslay

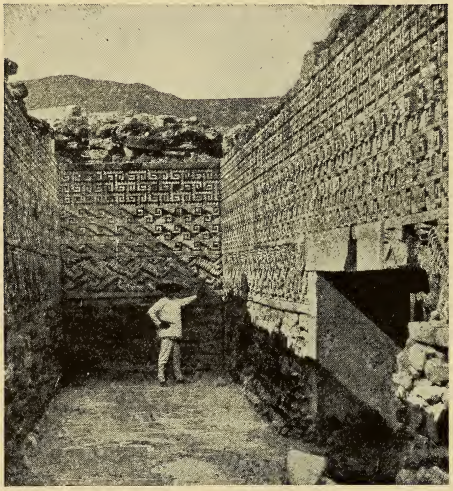
But before considering origins, a short survey of that civilization, so far as it can be reconstructed, is necessary. To leave aside for one moment the question of art, the most spectacular remains of the early Maya period are architectural. At this period metals were practically unknown. Only one gold object has been found in connection with an early Maya site, and copper is almost equally rare. The stone-built 'cities' of this period were built of blocks quarried and carved by means of stone implements, which have been found in great numbers within the area. The Maya were indefatigable builders and most of the greater sites show evidence of constant reconstruction. The masses of masonry which they erected merely with the aid of stone tools and human traction represent one of the great architectural efforts of mankind living under primitive conditions, only equalled (and in some respects surpassed) by the early peoples of Peru and Bolivia.

Apart from the terracing of hillsides, probably for the purpose of cultivation, Maya building falls under three headings: monoliths, 'pyramids' and 'temples.'

MASSIVE COLUMNS OF A HALL AT MITLA

True columns are rare in Early Maya buildings, the nearest approach being square sections of wall left between adjacent doorways. In the Late Maya buildings of Yucatan these developed into true columns in snake or caryatid form, but the most perfect examples are at Mitla, a site of the Zapotec folk.

Allusion has already been made to the monoliths—stelae and altars—which constitute so striking a feature of most Early Maya sites. The pyramids were invariably of the 'stepped' variety and flat-topped, differing in the latter respect from the typical Egyptian pyramid. They served a different purpose. The Egyptian pyramid was a tomb: the Maya pyramid was essentially a platform on which to erect a temple or an altar. Maya religion was closely connected with astronomy, and the movements of the sun, moon and certain planets were carefully observed. It is probable, therefore, that the temples, erected on their lofty substructures, were also observatories.



MOSAICS OF AMAZING INTRICACY EVOLVED BY THE ZAPOTEC INDIANS

Mitla (its Mexican name) lies in Oaxaca province, on the south coast of Mexico facing the Pacific. It seems to have been the religious center of the Zapotec, for Lyobaa (its native name) means 'place of the dead'; and, though Maya influence was strong, distinct native tendencies in the ornamenting of its buildings are apparent. Especially striking are the mazy geometrical mosaics, copied from textiles, of this hall at Mitla in the same building as the Hall of the Columns on page 1443.

Photo, C. B. Waite

The buildings themselves, temples and ceremonial chambers, show that the Maya architect was ignorant of three very important principles, the use of mortar, the bonding of corners and the true arch. It is a little surprising that the use of mortar had not been discovered, because stucco was used freely as a coating for masonry, and at some sites for moulded decoration. But the fact that it was not known and that the corners of buildings were not bonded has contributed seriously to the decay of the early structures. Vegetation, driving its roots between the uncemented blocks, has burst asunder many of the finest buildings.

For roofing the early architect employed, in the main, the false arch and (but only occasionally) beams which formed a support for stucco. Both methods impose a severe limit upon the width of a building without placing any restrictions on its length, but a study of the buildings at different sites shows that architecture developed considerably even under the restrictions imposed by the methods employed. Starting with a rectangular, cigar-box-like structure with a single doorway, the Maya eventually developed complicated edifices with side corridors, many entrances and sometimes an inner shrine. The multiplication of doorways appears to have led to the invention of the column, which is, in Early Maya times, simply a section of wall between entrances. True columns, in caryatid or serpent form, belong to the later Maya period.

The Maya as builders were indefatigable and never content. Excavation has proved that pyramids were frequently enlarged by the addition of one or more masonry 'skins'; that buildings were filled solid with rubble and used as foundation mounds for another building; and that whole series of hill terraces were sub-

merged in the course of later architectural developments.

The exact significance of these great architectural complexes, belonging to the Early Maya period, now hidden in dense bush, has been the subject of much discussion. It is clear that they were not fortresses; it is equally clear that they could not have accommodated that population necessary for their construction. It seems probable that they were ceremonial centers, whither the surrounding inhabitants repaired for the performance of religious rites, inhabited only by chiefs and priests. The existence of these sites implies not only a large population but a strong central control. We know that the Maya of Yucatan in historical times were ruled by hereditary chiefs and a strong official class, and that their lives were directed by religion. The highly symbolic and ceremonial nature of Maya architectural ornament supports the theory that architecture was the handmaid of religion.

Maya sculpture on a large scale was essentially sculpture in relief, and only in exceptional cases attained the full round. The stelae generally portray a human figure, and the stelae at Copan, when arranged in order of date, show the figure gradually emerging from the block, but never becoming detached from it. Yet in relief sculpture the Maya progressed farther than any other people living under similar stone-age conditions. Not only could they portray a perfect profile, a feat never achieved by the Egyptians or Assyrians, but even a three-quarter view in true perspective. In this respect the slabs from the inner sanctuaries of the shrines at Palenque constitute veritable masterpieces of primitive sculpture.

Sculpture in the round on a life-sized scale is, as remarked above, exceptional, and the finest example comes from Copan. Smaller carvings are not so uncommon, such as figurines and masks, cut from various hard stones; as well as jadeite plaques with well proportioned designs in low relief.

Whether the Early Maya worked metal is still a matter of uncertainty. However, both gold and copper were worked by the later Maya of Yucatan, though they were employed chiefly for ornamental purposes. On the other hand the working of stone implements by flaking and polishing was carried to a very high degree of perfection.

The monuments afford abundant evidence that the Early Maya were skilled weavers, though no single piece of textile has survived. It is clear that they wove garments with elaborate patterns, embroidered borders and tasseled fringes.

But though material evidence of their skill as weavers is lacking, there is abundant proof of their mastery of the art of pottery. Vases, bowls, beakers and

GLIMPSE OF MAYA SOCIAL LIFE

Maya art was strictly religious, symbolic and ceremonial, and we may infer that social life was also regulated by ceremony and strong central control. This relief from Menché shows a retainer making obeisance before his chief.

Cast in British Museum

tripod vessels, excellently modelled and painted in fine designs in rich colors, bear witness to a high development of the ceramic art. The use of moulds was known, but here too, as throughout the whole of America, the principle of the potter's wheel was undiscovered, and the craftsman fashioned his finely proportioned vessels entirely by hand.

The beliefs and religious tendencies of the Early Maya can at present only be guessed; but, fortunately, material for a reconstruction of their theology is not lacking. The deity who appears most

frequently in early Maya art is the rain god, who is shown with a trunk-like nose borrowed from the tapir, which was regarded as the lightning animal. Rain in the tropics is associated with thunder and lightning, and to an agricultural people like the Maya, rain is of the utmost importance. A maize god appears, too, but a passive rather than an active divinity; also a deity associated with the planet Venus; a sun god, who appears to have played a rather subordinate rôle; and a death god whose importance may be judged from the number of times he is portrayed in sculpture and in the manuscripts.

Though the rain god seems to have held the chief place in popular worship, there were two high gods known, at any rate in Late Maya times, as Kukulkan and Itzamna, who stood as titular heads of the pantheon. Both were creator gods, but they played very different parts. Itzamna was a sky god, a sort of Jupiter, aloof and mysterious and not to be invoked on small occasions. Kukulkan was the culture hero, inventor of the calendar and of arts and crafts, the god, moreover, who presided over that mysterious thing 'life.' His name is compounded of two words, 'kukul,' meaning the 'quetzal' bird (the shy resplendent trogon which inhabits the Guatemalan bush), and 'kan,' meaning snake.

The key to the meaning of this queer combination of bird and reptile is provided by the Popol Vuh, the 'Sacred Book' of the Quiché people of western Guatemala, where this deity is described as 'the feathered snake which moves in the waters.' This obviously means the ripple, born of wind and water, and having as its esoteric significance the combination of breath and movement, that is, life. This god was par excellence the god of the Maya, but, at any rate in early times, he was too holy and mysterious to be portrayed in human form. Like the Buddha before the eastern campaign of Alexander, he is portrayed by a symbol, in this case by a bird with serpent attributes, or a snake with feathers.

Early Maya ritual appears to have been of a mild character, and the tribute paid to the gods consisted of agricultural produce, and birds and animals, offered in sacrifice. Human victims were certainly provided

GORGEOUS HEAD-DRESS AS A MARK OF RANK

Relief from Palenque showing some dignitary seated on a jaguar throne; he is receiving a head-dress apparently composed of feather and mosaic work, with an animal head snouted like the rain god in front. Complicated head-dresses constantly figure in Maya art, while feathers are its favorite decorative motif.

Cast in British Museum

STATUE OF THE MAIZE GOD

Relief was the essence of Maya art. Sometimes the figure is almost detached from the parent block, but statues completely in the round, like this limestone figure of the maize god from Copan, are rare.

British Museum

in later times, but the evidence of the monuments would seem to show that human sacrifice in the Early Maya period, if it existed at all, was very exceptional. The nearest approach appears to have been the blood offering made by worshippers from their own bodies, by piercing their tongues or ears.

As regards the domestic economy of the Maya, we know that they were a sedentary people (apart from their great migration to Yucatan), who practiced hunting and fowling and, to some extent bee-keeping. But their mainstay was agriculture, and the plant of paramount importance was maize.

It is clear that Early Maya influences spread west, north and south, long before the collapse of the Old Empire. In the north settlements were founded in Yucatan, the nucleus of the New Empire. So much of the Republic of Honduras is archaeologically unexplored that the extent of Maya influence in this direction cannot yet be estimated; but it is not unlikely that certain monuments as far south as Nicaragua drew their inspiration from Maya sources. In the west it is clear that this inspiration reached out to the Mexican province of Oaxaca, inhabited by the people known as Zapotec, and crept up thence to the Valley of Mexico, which was later the center of Aztec power.

The archaeology of the Mexican Valley, as revealed by excavations conducted at more than one site, exhibits at least three main periods. The earliest is usually termed 'archaic,' and is characterized by

HARD STONES ELABORATELY FLAKED

The civilization of the Maya, and indeed of the whole American Continent, was fundamentally Stone Age, in spite of some knowledge of metals used principally for ornament. Great proficiency in the flaking of hard stones was attained, as shown by these probably ritual objects of chert from British Honduras.

British Museum

TAPIR-SNOUTED RAIN GOD

Owing to his importance for the maize crops the rain god was one of the chief Maya divinities. He is portrayed with the snout of the tapir, the 'lightning animal,' as in this series on a temple at Uxmal in Yucatan.
Photo, Dr. A. P. Maudslay

a peculiar type of pottery figurines and rather coarse clay vessels. It is clear that this period was of long duration, and the area over which remains of this type are found is very wide, extending from Guatemala to the Panuco Valley in Mexico. Superimposed on this are remains of figurines and pottery of far higher technical and artistic standard. The period represented by these (which was considerably shorter than the 'archaic') is known as the 'Toltec' period. Later still are the remains characteristic of the Aztec (see Chapter 119).

Now the Mexican Valley appears to have been the place where Maya culture, filtered through the Zapotec people of Oaxaca, met a stream of migrating tribes (speaking a common tongue, Nahuatl) who poured down from the north in a succession of waves. These tribes were essentially nomadic hunters, worshipping gods (whom they regarded as their personal leaders) connected with the sky and stars. The first of these waves, the Toltec, settling in the Mexican Valley, adopted and developed the branch of Maya culture which they found there including many of the gods whose worship was established there.

The adoption of the gods was necessary. Their own gods, being connected only with hunting and war, knew nothing of agriculture and technical processes such as weaving and architecture. In particular they paid reverence to Kukulkan, whose name they translated literally into their language as Quetzalcoatl. To him they attributed the invention of all the arts and crafts which they, as hunters, did not possess. This and the further

GRIM AND FLESHLESS HEAD OF THE MAYA GOD OF DEATH

The death god was another object of worship. He is shown as a skeleton in the manuscripts, and his face, fleshless, or at least with fleshless lower jaw, appears often on the monuments.
British Museum

fact that the worship of this deity was never, even in Aztec times, associated with human sacrifice, is in itself an indication that later Mexican culture was based on Maya inspiration.

Building in stone flourished under the Toltec regime, and the two great pyramids of the Sun and Moon (so-called) at the great site of San Juan Teotihuacan near Mexico City are, with the pyramid of Cholula, the loftiest in Central America. One of the smaller pyramids at the former site reveals sculptural decoration admirably conceived and executed. The Maya inspiration is obvious, but the Toltec, in adopting Maya motives, conventionalized them. They replaced art by decoration. But they invented the caryatid pillar and a new form of pottery technique, a kind of slip inlay.

Further immigration from the north, culminating in the arrival of the Aztec and the gradual introduction of fierce forms of worship, including human sacrifice, led to the disruption of the Toltec rule. Meanwhile, Toltec influence had spread to the Totonac peoples of Vera Cruz and down into Yucatan, where the later buildings of Chichén Itzá are in Toltec style. Wholesale migration of Toltec clans, mostly in an easterly and southerly direction, took place at the downfall of the Toltec regime, and reinforced the influence which had previously made itself felt in those quarters.

As implied above, the southerly extension of the great Maya culture is uncertain. Copan, just within the border of the Republic of Honduras, is the most southerly of Early Maya 'cities' yet discovered. Salvador shows only a reflection of late Maya art. In Nicaragua Maya influence is possible, but no trace of the Maya script has been found, and Costa Rica, while providing, locally, abundant evidence of Aztec influence, is in certain respects connected archaeologically with the southern continent.

To pass, then, to South America. The area which shows the earliest developed culture is that which comprises the highlands of Peru and Bolivia and the narrow strip of coast to the west. Much digging has been done in Peru and Bolivia, but little of it on scientific lines. Still, there is sufficient evidence to enable us to distinguish three great culture centers, more or less contemporary, which appear to have flourished at about the same period as the earliest dated monuments of the Maya. Two of these lay on the Peruvian coast, and the third in the uplands of Bolivia, extending into Peru.

The geographical conditions are peculiar. From the hot, waterless region of the

PRIEST BEFORE THE SKY GOD

The snake played an important part in Maya symbolism. One god, Kukulkan, was portrayed as a blend of snake and bird; and in this relief from Menché the earth monster, with the sky god emerging armed from his jaws, is shown in snake form.

British Museum

coast, where rain is a rare phenomenon, the Andes rise abruptly, enclosing many fertile valleys and, at their greatest elevation, arid plains surrounded by snow-capped peaks. The coast peoples lived to a large extent upon fish, but they also cultivated maize, bringing water for irrigation purposes for many miles from the mountains by means of stone-built aqueducts. Maize cultivation flourished in the intermediate area, but its place on the

high plateaux was taken by the 'quinoa,' a variety of buckwheat, and the potato.

One distinctive feature characterizes this early culture, namely pastoral life, the only example in America. There exists in the southern continent a quadruped, distantly related to the camel, of which there are four varieties, the huanaco, the vicuña, the llama and the alpaca. Of these the first two are wild animals, but the others have never been known in the wild state and must have been produced by intensive breeding. The alpaca was reared for its fleece, but the llama was used also as a beast of burden. Though belonging properly to the uplands, the llama had been introduced on the coast at an early period, as proved by many representations on the pottery of that region. The evolution of two domestic varieties from a wild species suggests great antiquity for South American civilization.

MAYA ALTAR AT COPAN

The Maya gods demanded sacrifice, as one may realize from this elaborately carved altar at Copan. But everything goes to show that flowers and fruit and the smaller animals were acceptable offerings, and that until the very latest times human sacrifice was unknown; blood-letting was an adequate substitute.

Photo, Dr. A. P. Maudslay

The three early culture centers were situated apparently at Tiahuanaco (at the southern end of Lake Titicaca, 13,000 feet above sea-level); in the region of the modern Truxillo on the coast in northern Peru; and at Nasca in the province of Yca in southern Peru. Each shows individual characters in its art and archaeological remains, and in both respects the early Nasca culture seems to stand midway between the two others.

The architectural remains at Tiahuanaco are constructed in the megalithic style, a great enclosure of monoliths approached by a stairway and including a monolithic gateway, known as the 'Puerta del sol,' which is one of the most celebrated monuments in America. From Tiahuanaco in Bolivia this megalithic building extends through the highlands of Peru northward, and magnificent examples may be seen in the streets of modern Cuzco and at the great fortress of Ollantaitambo.

This pre-Inca masonry, apart from the size of the blocks, is almost unique in that the stones are polygonal and often carved with re-entrant angles. Each stone was cut to fit its immediate neighbors, and the process implies an almost superhuman labor. Built without mortar, and relying simply on mass and precision of fitting, these constructions are the most enduring remains of ancient American civilization. And though they lack the decorative effect of Maya buildings, they bear witness to a superior skill in masonry.

Metal, both gold and copper (the latter often a form of bronze), was known and worked to a far greater extent than among the Maya, but it is probable that the huge blocks of which this early masonry was composed were dressed with stone tools.

Colossal stone figures in human form, covered with intricate designs, have been found at Tiahuanaco; and this introduces the subject of art. The decorative art of this period was in the main angular, but well proportioned and extremely impressive. It is far more economical of detail and more severe than that of the Maya, but, like Maya art, exhibits a symbolism which presupposes a long period of development. The pottery also shows excellent technique, but with

the same tendency to angularity in its modelled and painted decoration, while the textiles, of which many have survived, constructed on a tapestry frame and not on a true loom (at this period apparently unknown), show a great variety of color, and a sense of proportion in spacing.

These highlanders seem to have worshipped a paramount sky god, lord of rain and thunder, with a number of subordinate clan deities, mostly in animal form. Of sun worship, the official religion of the Inca, there is no trace at this early period.

The early culture characteristic of the Truxillo region, usually known as proto-Chimu, though fundamentally similar to that of the Tiahuanaco people, was influenced by the local geographical conditions. Stone architecture is not found, for the very good reason that stone suitable for building does not exist on the coast. On the other hand, large structures in pyramid form, built of sun-dried clay bricks, take their place.

The rarity of rain in this region, the absence of rivers and the consequent scarcity of water, led to a remarkable development of the art of the making and decorating of pottery. The very rapid evaporation produced by the climate necessitated a closed vessel with a narrow spout, but it is difficult to pour evenly from a vessel of this type. The proto-Chimu people invented a class of water vessel with a hollow ring-handle surmounted by a spout, and this served a double purpose. When the vessel was tipped the water ran down one side of the ring while air was admitted by the other; and the ring-form permitted the bottle to be carried slung from a belt.

These vessels, for perfection of technique and symmetry, are some of the most remarkable ever produced by a people ignorant of the potter's wheel.

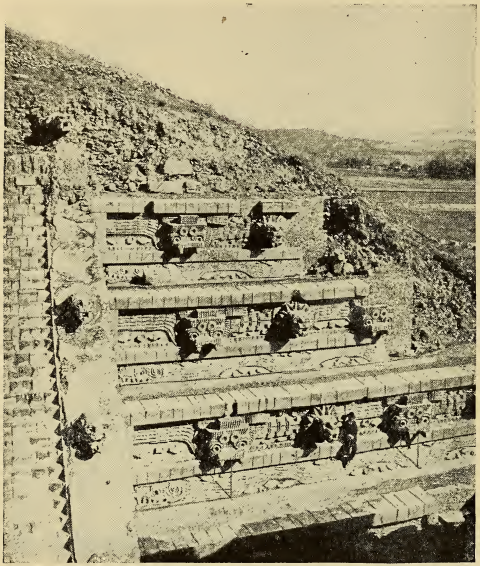
BLOOD-LETTING TO APPEASE A GOD

Blood-offering to the Maya god was made by piercing tongue or ears; this priest, kneeling before a divinity bearing a staff of power, is taking the heroic course of drawing through his tongue a rope studded with thorns. At his feet is a basket containing apparatus for ear-piercing. From Menché.

British Museum

They fall into two classes, painted and modelled. In the painted class the designs are applied in a reddish-brown slip on a cream background. The art is somewhat conventionalized, but illustrates various pursuits, hunting, fishing, weaving, as well as religious ceremonies.

The modelled class is unique in America, owing to a realism unparalleled in the rest of the continent. The vases in human form give us the most minute details regarding the dress, ornaments, weapons and even physical characters of the people. Certain of them exhibit so strong an individuality that it is hard to believe that they are not actual portraits. At his best the modeller of proto-Chimu times, as an exponent of realism, had nothing to learn from the fictile artists of the Old World.



TOLTEC VERSION OF KUKULKAN

The Nahuatl-speakers translated the paramount Maya god Kukulkan literally into their own language as Quetzalcoatl. On one of the pyramids at Teotihuacan, from a relief background of a serpent-body in the stylised art of the Toltec, the heads of the Feathered Snake and Water Snake project alternately.

Photo, Hugo Brehme

The textile art, in the form of tapestry, was also highly developed, but is distinguished by certain technical differences from that of Tiahuanaco. Moreover, the material is principally vegetable (cotton), whereas the textiles of the highlands are woven from llama or alpaca wool. Gold and copper were known and worked, but principally for ornaments, though copper spades were used in agriculture.

Religion appears to have been a system of clan-ancestor cult, the clan ancestor assuming the shape of some animal, combined with reverence paid to certain high gods connected with the moon and sea. There is no trace of sun worship on the coast in pre-Inca times, for the obvious reason that the life of the inhabitants was one long struggle against drought and the sun was less of a benefactor than a foe.

The third early phase of South American culture, with its centre at Nasca in southern Peru (and generally known as proto-Nasca), stands midway between the two already described; though it exhibits certain individual characteristics. The geographical environment was similar to that of the proto-Chimu area, and there is the same lack of stone building and the same development of pottery form devised for the preservation of water. But the latter question was answered in a different way. The typical Nasca vase has two spouts connected by a solid handle, one of which admits air while the other serves as an egress for the contents.

The decorative art, however, in its angular convention, approximates more to that of Tiahuanaco than that of the Truxillo area. Modelled pottery is relatively uncommon, but, on the other hand, there is a development of color which, for richness and variety, surpasses the ceramic products of any other people living under similar 'primitive' conditions. This wealth of color extended to the textiles.

The rise of these three centres of art

VAST MONOLITH THAT MARKS THE PRE-INCA SITE OF TIAHUANACO

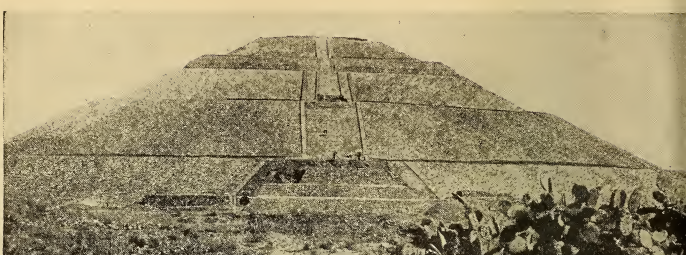
The prehistoric ('pre-Inca') civilization of South America differs in many important ways from the Maya. One of these was the prevalence of megalithic building, even huge monoliths being employed for architectural purposes. At Tiahuanaco is a marvelous gateway hewn from a solid block of stone—the crack here visible was caused by earthquake. Though it is known as the Puerta del Sol (Gate of the Sun), the deity commemorated in its carvings is probably the rain and thunder god.

and culture is obscure, but their later history seems to have been as follows. The Tiahuanaco culture spread, not only northwards along the Andes into Peru and southwards into the north-western provinces of Argentina, but also to the coast, at any rate as far north as Lima.

The proto-Chimu culture does not appear to have fallen under the direct influence of the Tiahuanaco people, but seems on the other hand to have exerted some influence among the tribes of the northern Andes. Several local pottery styles in the coastal valleys of northern Peru seem to have been founded on proto-Chimu inspiration. Some of these show a technical advance, but the artistic history is one of degeneration and somewhere about the end of the eighth century A.D. there appears to have been a general artistic and cultural débâcle, resulting in the extinction of the three great early schools of art.

Some three centuries later came a renaissance, marked by the later Chimu culture in the Truxillo region, the later Nasca and the Inca at Cuzco. The two coastal areas, though conquered by the Inca at the end of the fourteenth century, continued to maintain their separate individualities until the coming of Pizarro.

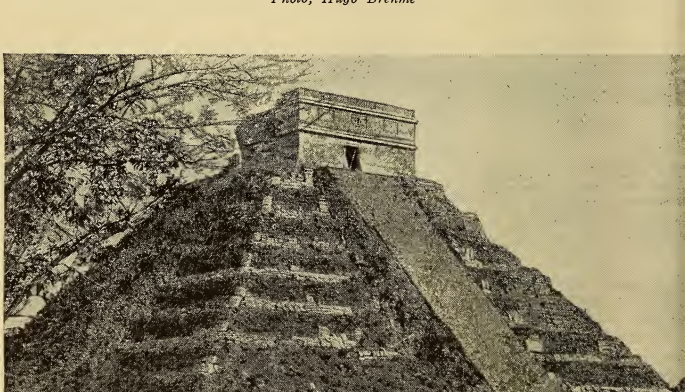
As regards the rest of South America at this early period there is not much evidence to show that the inhabitants differed greatly in culture from historical times. Shell-heaps, 'kitchen-middens,' occur all down the Peruvian and Chilean coasts, and afford an indication that these regions were originally, before the rise of the proto-Chimu and



THE TOLTEC AS BUILDERS: PYRAMID OF THE SUN AT TEOTIHUACAN

Transmitted probably through the Zapotec of Oaxaca, Maya influence penetrated to the hear of the Valley of Mexico, there to be assimilated by the invading Nahuatl-speakers—the Tolte and later their supersessors the Aztec. Of the great temple-bearing pyramids in the ancien Maya style that the Toltec erected at Teotihuacan, that above, the Temple of the Sun (so called), 216 feet high on a base line of nearly 1,000 feet, is the largest in all Central America

Photo, Hugo Brehme



HUGE TEMPLE WHICH THE MAYAS ERECTED IN THEIR SECOND HOME

For a reason or reasons that we can never hope to ascertain, the Maya suddenly deserte their ancient settlements in the south during the fourth century A.D. The larger par migrated northwards to Yucatan, where there was a final flowering of Maya culture at such sites as Chichén Itzá and Mayapan, increasingly permeated and finally overlaid by Toltec influence. This great terraced pyramid, 85 feet high, scaled by a flight of steps and crowned by a temple, is at Chichén Itzá.

Photo, Peterffy

proto-Nasca cultures, occupied by a simple fishing population, whose last representatives may be the vanishing tribes of Tierra del Fuego. The most striking remains are the stone arrow-heads of Chile. In Patagonia traces of man's handiwork have been discovered in connection with the remains of extinct fauna, giant sloths and armadillos. But it seems probable that these creatures of a bygone age survived in South America long after they were extinct in the Old World.

The Amazon basin, with its dense forests, never witnessed the development of a superior culture. Maize cultivation was only sporadic, and probably introduced in Inca times. However, some of the tribes, principally of Arawak stock, developed the arts of pottery and stone carving to some extent, and with this development is associated the cultivation of manioc, another plant indigenous to America.

A survey of early American culture, as revealed by the spade and interpreted in the light of our knowledge of the social conditions of the natives at the time of the Discovery, brings to light certain definite points which cannot be neglected in any discussion of its origin.

It is clear that the aboriginal American stands nearer to the Asiatic, on physical grounds, than to any other race of mankind. It is highly improbable that mankind was evolved in the Americas, and the population of the double continent must, therefore, have been the result of immigration. The physical type points to Asia as the original home, and this indication is reinforced by geographical considerations. It is unlikely that America was peopled by one great wave of migration; the physical variation almost precludes this possibility, and the most obvious route, via Bering Strait, could not have afforded ingress to large hordes of immigrants.

America must have been peopled by a sort of spasmodic infiltration, in the main by tribes who were forced to pass through an Arctic environment. The process must have been lengthy, and if the immigrants originally had any knowledge of weaving or pottery, that knowledge can hardly have been preserved under the combined circumstances of Arctic life and migration.

THE STONE OF TWELVE ANGLES IN CUZCO

In Cuzco, which the Inca later made their capital, remains of their predecessors abound. The masons, in their contempt for the obstinate qualities of stone, actually carved every block to fit its own place, and the famous example here shown has no fewer than twelve angles, salient and re-entrant.

It is quite clear that the level of early American material culture varies directly with the intensity of agricultural life, and is based entirely on a plant indigenous to America, the maize plant, which was unknown to the Old World before the voyage of Columbus. The evolution of the many varieties of cultivated maize from a wild plant, not yet identified with certainty, suggests a long period of settled life in America which had at least no reflex action on the Old World. And the domestication of the llama and alpaca in Peru and Bolivia reinforces the isolation of American culture.

On the other side, the absence of Old World cereals in America; of any domestic Old World animal save the dog; of any sort of wheeled traction (present in Mesopotamia in the fourth millen-

nium B.C.), and of the potter's wheel, which was used in Elam and Mesopotamia at about the same date, indicates that Old World technology either did not affect American culture seriously, or that the people who colonized America had not discovered, or had lost, these particular cultural features. The whole history of pottery suggests independent invention. The close relationship with coiled basketwork, a technique uncommon in eastern Asia, combined with the almost complete lack of pottery in the northern regions of North America, precludes the possibility of the ceramic art having been introduced by any northern route. It cannot have been introduced by the Polynesians, because no pottery is known in Polynesia.

A new view of the development of civilization has been introduced by the so-called 'diffusionist' school, which presents the theory that arts, crafts and religious practices had a single center and were spread throughout the globe by migrating peoples in quest of gold, regarded as the elixir of life. These peoples were acquainted with megalithic building, were sun worshippers, practiced mummification and sought pearls with the same assiduity as gold. Egypt is considered as the center of diffusion of world culture.

GOD AT TIAHUANACO

The statuary of the pre-Inca was rougher and more angular than that of the Maya, but, less overweighted with ornament, had a monumental simplicity. Legend credits this god near the Kalasasaya with oracular powers.

The theory is, in reality, a revolt against previous ideas which held that human culture was exclusively the result of environment, and is justified to the extent that the 'environmental' school undoubtedly paid too little attention to the secondary transmission of technical methods, and of religious practices, communicated from tribe to tribe. But the pendulum has swung too far to the other extreme. Independent invention is denied: the possibility of 'convergence' is neglected. The influence of environment provided by altitude, flora and fauna is not taken into account. Geographical barriers are overlooked, and the whole question is frequently confused by the use of small-scale maps.

Application of the 'culture complex' of sun worship, megalithic building, pyramids, gold seeking and mummification to the two great centers of early American civilization produces results which are entirely negative. In the early Maya region pyramids exist, it is true, but, apart from the stelae, megalithic building has been found only at one site, and that about thirty miles from the *Atlantic* coast. Except for one single find, of doubtful date, there is no evidence of gold working at this period. There is no trace of mummification; and such evidence as exists suggests that the sun god played a very subordinate part in worship. The sun cult only rose to importance under the Aztec regime, and was associated with cremation.

Moreover, the center of Mayan civilization lies far down the Atlantic water-

shed, and the culture in the direction of the Pacific becomes a more and more attenuated reflection of this early development as one proceeds westward. If Early Maya culture was introduced from the Old World, it is remarkable that it should have left no trace of its passage on the Pacific slopes or in the western portion of the Atlantic watershed. And the Maya calendar has no parallel in the Old World, beyond the fact that in its final form it arrived at a solar period of 365 days. And since the solar year is determined by nature and not by man, it is clear that agricultural peoples, who must necessarily observe the progress of the seasons, will, in the course of time, arrive at the predestined answer. But the division of the 365-day period amongst the Maya is strikingly different from that prevalent in the Old World, while the ritual calendar is unique.

Parallels have been drawn between certain phases of Asiatic stone architecture and that of the Maya, and here undoubtedly there is a resemblance, due to the fact that in both localities the false arch was used for roofing. But the form of buildings erected on this principle must conform to a certain type, and the apparent similarity may be explained by 'convergence.' In any case, the comparatively late date of Cambodian structures (see page 1329), if independent invention be absolutely denied, would suggest that they were the result of American inspiration rather than vice versa.

The early culture developments of South America stand on a rather different footing. They face the Pacific, and here, if anywhere, influence from Asia might reasonably be found. But again the culture complex of the diffusionists breaks down. Pyramids exist on the coast, but no megalithic building. And sun worship was not introduced until Inca times after a very desperate war. In the highlands there were certainly megalithic buildings but no pyramids, and there is no evidence of sun worship until the Inca period. There remains the question of mummification. Here arises a double question: on the one hand what is the definition of a 'mummy,' and on the other, is there in this instance no possibility of convergence?

The practice of mummification in Egypt has been traced directly to the environment. In early times bodies buried in the hot, sandy soil became desiccated and did not decay. In the course of time the preservation of human remains, suggested by climatic conditions, became a matter of ritual importance, and the process of embalming was introduced as a supplement in aid of the local conditions. In early Peruvian sites desiccated bodies are found, but the climatic conditions are similar to those of Egypt. Both in the arid regions of the coast and in the rarified atmosphere of the highlands the normal process of decay was arrested. But in the early civilizations there is no trace of the application of any preservatives to assist the effect of climate. Even if these were used in later times, which is doubtful, the practice may well be attributed to 'convergence' dictated by similar conditions. But even if artificial methods of preservation were introduced from outside, and were not the logical result of climate, as in Egypt, they do not relate to the earliest phases of South American civilization.

It is not only possible, but probable, that the Polynesians in the course of their extended voyages touched the coast of South America. But, from what is known of Polynesian history, it is difficult to see what contribution they could have made to American culture. They were ignorant of the art of pottery and of any sort of metal, and though in some of the islands remains of stone building have been found, the Polynesians did not reach Hawaii or the Marquesas before the seventh century A.D., and New Zealand before the ninth.

The presence of the sweet potato in Polynesia has often been mentioned as evidence of contact, and with justification; because, apart from the fact that the plant is supposed to be indigenous to America, it was known in Polynesia as 'kumara,' while its name among the Chincha people of Peru was 'kumar.' Yet, if the Polynesians, as is possible, found the American coast, they received more than they gave. They could have introduced neither pottery, metal working nor textile art in the form of tapestry, and though they understood the use of sails, it is a fact that sails were unknown on the coast of Peru before Columbus.

Prehistoric America affords a magnificent field for archaeological research. The double continent, peopled by immigrants from the Old World, seems, on the evidence available, to have developed a semi-civilization which ran on lines parallel to that of the eastern hemisphere. Many of the similarities can be explained by the psychology common to the human race, and by the convergence dictated by natural and mechanical considerations. What future investigations may reveal cannot be anticipated, but, in the light of our present knowledge, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the higher phases of American culture before Columbus represent an independent development.

ACCOMPLISHED TECHNIQUE OF THE MAYA RELIEF SCULPTOR

The 'Temple of the Sun' at Palenque possesses some of the finest Maya reliefs. The art may seem barbaric at a casual glance, but sympathetic study will show its qualities. Here a shield bearing the face of the sun god hangs from crossed spears supported by crouching figures in three-quarter profile—a difficult effect for relief. On either side priests make offerings, he on the right being an exquisite example of line work. Notice, too, that the eyes are in accurate profile.

Cast in British Museum

THE ADVENTURES OF THE NORMANS

STEPS BY WHICH THE UNBRIDLED NORTHMEN OF SCANDINAVIA BECAME THE REJUVENATORS OF WESTERN EUROPE

By C. W. PREVITE-ORTON

Fellow and Librarian, S. John's College, Cambridge; University Lecturer in History; Author of Outlines of Medieval History

If it is good for us to see ourselves as others see us, there is also an advantage in seeing others as they see themselves, and the most vivid sketch of the Norman character may be found in the contemporary history of a monk who passed almost all his life in the Norman monastery of St. Evroul. This is how Ordericus Vitalis, French by extraction, English by birth, Norman by training, describes his compatriots at the time when their fame was spread far and wide, from Ireland to Palestine, in the days of Henry Beauclerk, king of England:

> The Normans are an untamed race, and unless restrained by a stern ruler are always ready for mischief. In all societies, wherever they may be, they struggle for the mastery, and spurred by ambition many a time are led to juggle with truth and faith. . . In them their natural ferocity still abounds, and their inborn ardor for battle rages to such an extent that it does not allow the peasants and peaceful officials to remain in quiet in their dwellings.

And the southern chronicler, Geoffrey Malaterra, gives the Norman conquerors of his land a very similar report:

> They are indeed a most crafty race, revengeful of injuries, despising their native fields in the hope of winning other, greedy of gain and of dominion, capable of all feigning, and keeping a kind of middle way between bounty and avarice; but their chiefs are most bountiful from love of fame. This race knows how to flatter, being so intent on eloquence that you would think the boys professional rhetoricians. Unless they are kept down by the yoke of justice, they are uncontrollable; when fortune requires it, they can endure labor, hunger and cold. They are zealous in hunting and hawking; they delight in good steeds, in splendid arms and armor, in magnificent garb.

Yet this stalwart, unamiable race of shameless individualists was destined to do great things for the peoples whom it tormented. The very admixture of the Norman blood seems to have acted like a tonic to communities long ground down to mediocrity in the social mill of old-established civilizations. But their actual work was all-important too. In the first place, they were destroyers, like the northern blizzard with which Ordericus compares them, and their onset blew away superannuated, helpless institutions and slowly ripening degeneracies, leaving what was real and strong and rooted in fact and necessity to survive and remake western Europe.

In the second place, the Normans, destructive as they were, were also builders and transmuters, who, if they brought few new ideas to the stock of civilization, were adroit in borrowing and combining what they found and learnt. The shattered society of their day needed most of all a framework, a defensive shell and an organized system of government, under which and through which not only art and literature and commerce, but the social sense itself and the habit of life by law in a community could revive.

The Norman race, however, was itself transmuted during the three centuries which elapsed between the death of Charlemagne and the First Crusade, so that they appear in two successive manifestations: first, as the Scandinavian sea rovers, Danes, Norwegians and Swedes, who harried and partly conquered the coasts of France and the British Isles; secondly, as the Normans proper, the mixed race of Scandinavians and North French, who inhabited the land called after them, Normandy. It was the Normans of the second phase who proved

themselves builders and adapters as well as destroyers.

Their life and character in their first phase as pure Scandinavians are the theme of the chapter on the Vikings (Chap. 85), and here we need only take them as they land on the coast from their open long-ships, and the big-boned crews leave their oars and harry the countryside with fire and sword. As the ninth century wore on, these raids became combined operations of many ship-loads, and in each country they attacked—France, England or Ireland—the method was much the same. The Viking fleet sailed up a great river artery, the Seine, the Loire, the Thames or the Humber, anchored their ships at some defensible place, fortified a camp, and then, seizing all the horses they could find, began to raid and plunder the country.

Mobile, fully armed and compact, they were more than a match for larger forces of a levy en masse of the natives, in the main half-armed farmers and peasants. To gather a fully armed force of trained warriors outnumbering the invaders meant skimming a wide territory of its true fighting men. Meantime monastery, town and village went in flames, and the remnant of the peasantry hid in their surrounding woodlands.

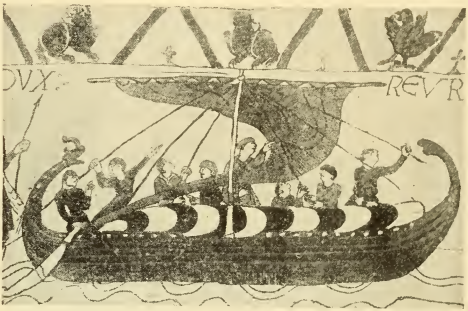
We may notice several phases in these invasions. As their forces grew larger, schemes of conquest and settlement under famous leaders began to be the North-

BIRTHPLACE OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

Dominating the town of Falaise in the Department of Calvados, this mighty castle was a principal seat of the dukes of Normandy, and here, in 1027 or 1028, was born to Duke Robert by his left-handed union with Arletta, the tanner's daughter, the son who became William the Conqueror. The castle then consisted of a square mass defended by towers and flanked by a small donjon; the lofty tower on the right was added by the English in the fifteenth century.

Photo, E.N.A

men's objective. But, as their methods were better known and the danger became more pressing, an energetic defence, which was far from ineffectual, was carried on by the kings and nobles of the invaded lands. The Northmen abandoned the hope of limitless conquests, and we come to the phase of limited colonies, to the settlement of the Danelaw in eastern England from the Tees to the Thames, and to the foundation of the duchy of Normandy by the treaty of St. Clair-sur-Epte in 911. By the cession of the counties at the mouth of the Seine, Charles the Simple, the king of France, submitted to the fact of a Norman state in his dominions, and the Viking leader Rollo consented to become a Christian and a vassal in return for a fragment of France.



NORSE SHIPS OF NORMAN INVADERS

From their immediate forebears, the Scandinavian sea rovers, the Normans of Normandy inherited the open long-ships that had harried the coasts of France. This vessel, in which they are depicted in the Bayeux tapestry crossing the Channel, is almost a replica of the Gogstad Viking ship shown in page 1402.

Treaty of St. Clair-sur-Epte

At the end of two generations from the treaty of St. Clair-sur-Epte, the duke of Normandy and his subjects were French in tongue and habits. Over his wide territory, which extended up the Seine to the river Epte and along the coast from Mont St. Michel to near the Somme, the duke ruled with literally regal sway, for he claimed within his duchy to exercise all the royal prerogatives.

It would be out of place here to recount the series of the Norman dukes or even the early deeds of the greatest of them, William the Bastard, later called the Conqueror, in any detail. Born, like several of his predecessors, of a handfast union—of his father Robert with Arletta, the tanner's daughter of Falaise—left duke at the age of seven by the death of that father on pilgrimage in 1035, he succeeded in the great victories of Val-des-Dunes and Mortemer in taming the turbulent Norman barons and in re-establishing all and more than all the ducal authority over his duchy.

The duke's authority had two sources, royal and feudal. As deputy sovereign the duke had large estates and valuable financial dues scattered over the duchy; in justice he held the 'peas of the sword,' like murder, which involved life or limb, and which could belong to a baron only by his special grant. Normandy was partitioned into a number of circumscriptions called 'vicomtés,' each ruled by a viscount appointed by the duke; this official held a court, gathered in the ducal income, kept order, guarded ducal castles. Then the duke on occasion could call out the 'arrière-ban,' that is, the levy en masse; like the Frankish kings, he could order his subjects to give him information on oath, the so-called 'sworn inquest'; he had the right of coining money; his 'curia' was the supreme judicial court; and last, not least, he controlled the Church in Normandy, which formed the ecclesiastical province of Rouen. This meant that he appointed the bishops and great abbots, controlled their synods and their legislation, and indirectly supervised their special courts, which dealt with moral and church offenses. Only four or five petty counts broke, as far as they did break, the unity of this administration.

As feudal suzerain the duke was ultimate owner of almost all the duchy's land, which was held from him in military service. This meant that, besides his demesne knights, he could summon some eight hundred knights for forty days a year; and by a wise provision of Norman

feudalism all sub-tenants owed their first allegiance to the duke and only in the second place to their immediate lord. The barons and other tenants-in-chief who held directly of the duke owed him service in peace as well as in war; they were bound to attend his 'curia,' or solemn court, to advise him in judicial and other business; they paid 'reliefs' to succeed to their fiefs; they could build castles only by his licence, and on terms of admitting his garrisons at demand; they paid the feudal 'aids' for his ransom, the knighting of his eldest son, and the marriage of his eldest daughter.

ARMS AND TRAPPINGS OF THE NORTHMEN

Interesting parallels to the Norman military equipment opposite are provided by a number of twelfth-century Scandinavian chessmen found in the Island of Lewis. Especially notable are the helmets and blazoned shields of the mounted knights (bottom) and of the center-piece. King and bishop (top) are equally Norman in type.

British Museum

To all this and more they were bound by the feudal oath of fealty, and by the still more sacred homage. In the latter ceremony the vassal knelt unarmed before his lord, between whose hands he placed his own, and thus became his 'man.'

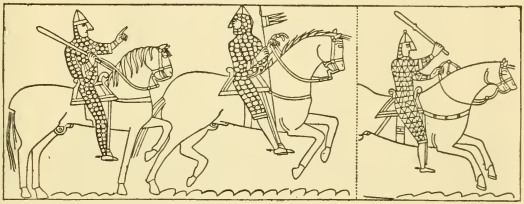
The upper stratum of Norman society, including the barons, numbered some 1,200 to 1,400 fully armed knights, and below them came a class of freeholders, called vavassors, who had not the full knight's outfit and fought on foot. Although the vavassors did good service, like the archers at Hastings, the decisive factor in both battle and skirmish was the charge of heavy-armed knights on horseback. Of generalship, beyond a few striking exceptions, there was little or none. A suitable charging ground and, if possible, surprise were the things aimed at.

The homes of these warlike nobles varied with their rank and wealth. The duke had his great square stone castles, like the White Tower in the Tower of London or the castle at Rochester. The baron in the eleventh century built in stone when he could afford it; more frequently his castle consisted of a square wooden tower erected on an artificial mound, the earth

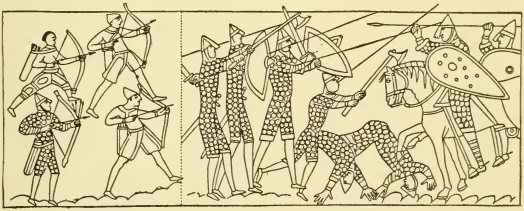
for which was obtained by excavating a moat around it. Outside this moat lay a bailey or courtyard surrounded by a stockade on an earthen rampart, which in its turn was excavated from an outer moat. The keep was entered by a bridge over the inner moat; the bailey was also entered by a similar contrivance. Fire could be partly guarded against by hides spread over the timber. Even the wooden castle, however, could only be built by ducal licence. The appearance of unlicensed 'adulterine' castles was a sure sign of anarchy and weakness, while a strong and well-supported ruler at once demolished them.

The favorite occupations of these Norman nobles were war and hunting; with a preference for war. Their best outlet at home was in family and personal feuds, strictly limited in law of which the pages of Ordericus are full. The deeds of the hatefully cruel house of Belesme and their like provide a full tale of atrocities, treachery, murder, mutilation, which perhaps give a too gloomy picture of Normandy in general. At any rate the dukes sternly repressed these doings to the utmost of their power. Among the chief sufferers were the peasantry, whether the full serfs who paid heavy dues and performed a full tale of 'works,' or the more favored 'guests' ('hospites'), who seem to have been free tenants. Their crops might be destroyed, themselves killed or maimed.

Perhaps their best protection against the mutual outrages of their lords lay in the provisions of the Truce of God, introduced into Normandy in 1042. This forbade hostilities from Wednesday sunset to Monday sunrise, and endeavored to shield the husbandman and the merchant. It is to be remembered also that the atrocities of the bad figure most easily in chronicles; on the other side we merely hear that a knight might have been taken for a model by all living men. That he did justice in his manorial or baronial court, that he was peaceful, loyal and merciful, appear only in the collective portrait of a lifetime, for no single act of it burnt itself into the memory of men. The race, however, was hard at best, and its women matched its men.



Knights had mail hauberks, conical helmets, swords and lances. Ecclesiastics generally wielded a mace (right, Bishop Odo of Bayeux).



Archers did good service, but the decisive fighting was hand-to-hand, the shock of the heavily armed knights' charge, being usually the determining factor in the battle. Right, the Saxon housecarles on foot fight the Norman knights at Hastings. Being contemporary with the events described, these Bayeux tapestry pictures are accurate.

WEAPONS AND ARMOR OF THE NORMANS

Norman life apart from war is not very easy to picture. The best of it was out-of-doors in the chase, so cruelly preserved for the nobles by barbarous forest laws, in which mutilation and death were common punishments. The mimic warfare of the tournament was coming into fashion in the eleventh century; it consisted in the jousting of two knights together, but more especially in the combat of large parties in the mêlée. To the participants it was little less dangerous

were all implied. To take religion first. The Cluniac reformation was brought to Normandy under Duke Richard the Good, in 1001, and in the next sixty years monasteries rose with some frequency over the country. Such a one was the famous Bec founded in 1054 by the ex-knight Herluin, and made a European center of learning by the Lombard lawyer Lanfranc. Unmixed religious impulse in its medieval garb of asceticism, the desire for learning and culture, the wish for cloistered peace and gen-

than real war, while infinitely less burdensome to the peasantry. But tournaments were not for every day. The castles were dark, draughty and smoky; feasting and listening to tale or song must have been the chief entertainment in them. Yet there were clerkly nobles, too, bred for the Church perhaps, and not always accepting the vocation. They, like the monasteries and their founders, help to complete a picture which is not all fire and rapine and slaughter, nor even law-making and tax-collecting.

Some evidence of a growth of what, in comparison with the condition of much of France, may be termed peace and prosperity, is to be found in the rapid growth of population and the revival of monastic foundations. Increased security, increased food supply and an increased susceptibility to Christianity

FORTRESS KEEPS OF NORMAN LORDS

Norman military architecture is finely exemplified in England by the remarkably well preserved White Tower (top) the oldest portion of the Tower of London built to the plans of William the Conqueror in 1078. The Norman keep of Rochester Castle (bottom) was begun at the order of William II.

Photos, Frith & Co., and H. N. King

tleness, the aversion, like Herluin's own, from the injustice and evil-doing which a vassal's duty to his lord might so easily entail, all these, apart and together, guided men to the monastic profession in these days of revival; and by all, we may say, a better example was set and a better ideal was held up than was practicable in the ordinary feudal world around.

It was the increase of population which sent the now mingled race of Norman-French off again on the paths of emigration and adventure for over a century. Nothing is more remarkable than the size of the families which Norman knights and vavassors reared to maturity. The twelve sons of Tancred of Hauteville were no exception, and for this teeming progeny the bounds of Normandy were too narrow, though the woodlands might be cleared and the plough lands grow. The twelve sons of a knight could not all live as knights unless they went abroad to win horse and arms and lands for themselves.

NORMAN BATTERING RAMS

In Norman times siege apparatus was very imperfect. This illustration from an eleventh century manuscript depicts the prophet Ezekiel with wheeled 'moutons' about him—puny engines to bring against the walls of Norman castles.

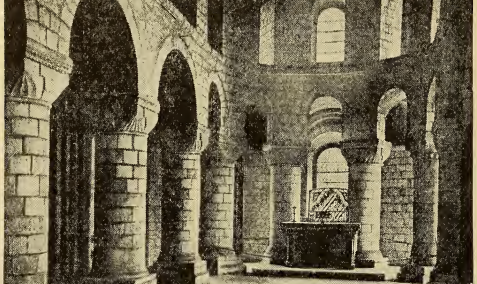
From Viollet-le-Duc, Military Architecture of Middle Ages

Whenever the clash of arms sounded in Europe and there was hire to be had, it was caught by Norman ears, and parties of adventurers and banished men were to be seen moving along the highways towards it. There was generally at least a tinge of religious motive about these enterprises which appealed even to men whose lives were criminal enough. War, however ferocious, with Moselem or schismatic or against a perjurer left no qualms of conscience. Hundreds or rather thousands were thus drafted away from their native land; but the greatest emigration of all was that led by the greatest man of Norman stock, the conquest of England by Duke William.

William the Conqueror, to give him the new appellation he won, was, paradoxically, so typical a Norman in most ways as to be an exception, for in him the stronger qualities of his race were developed to the full. Tall and portly, a valiant knight of his hands, a tireless hunter, his physical vigour enabled him to support a government which was personal in every sense of the word, and to enjoy the endless journeys of a medieval sovereign who passed from manor to manor to eat up the produce and guard his own. William also had a real capacity for generalship, in his day the rarest of gifts; as a diplomatist, the skill with which he obtained the papal blessing for his attack on England, and made his unprovoked assault appear almost a holy war, is truly remarkable. But his greatest qualities were a marvellous strength of will and an admirable capacity for organizing and conducting business.

The conquest of England begun at Hastings in 1066 took some five years to achieve; the reorganization of the kingdom was a longer process, only ending, if it did end then, with Domesday Book in 1086. Here we may treat the process in its completed shape. To begin with, there was the actual immigration of Normans and the very numerous other French adventurers who flocked for the spoil. How many these were it is hardly possible to say—the army of invasion had numbered some 5,000 men—but their coming must have had an appreciable effect on the sparsely populated England of the time with its three to five million inhabitants; they meant an addition of talent and energy to the national stock.

Nowhere was this more conspicuous than in the Church: a swarm of eager, bustling French ecclesiastics, headed by the Lombard Lanfranc, the new archbishop of Canterbury, came to restore its discipline, to increase its efficiency and to introduce a new stir of art and thought. A fervor of building began. The Normans practiced a version of the prevalent 'Romanesque,' with its small windows, round arches and heavy pillars. With this style of cathedral, abbey and church they began to cover the country, taking up many an English notion of decoration by the way.



NORMAN ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

S. John's Chapel in the White Tower gives the type of Norman ecclesiastical architecture. It consists of a nave with vaulted arches and an eastern apse, a triforium and barrel vaulting. The cushion capitals were probably derived from pre-Conquest models, since they appear earlier in England than in Normandy.
Photo, Frith

William undoubtedly meant to reign as successor of the native English kings. He had no intention to destroy either the independence or the government that he found; but he did mean to innovate. What native institutions he found in good working order, adding to the efficiency of government and the strength of the crown, he kept, but he introduced the strict feudalism in tenure and service which he knew in Normandy as a valuable adjunct to his ducal power.

All land in England was henceforth held of the crown, even the unconfiscated Church lands. Lay land, not kept in the royal demesne, was granted out in feudal vassalage; that is, with all the duties and liabilities we have seen in Normandy. The knight service due to the crown from barons and Church alike was some five thousand knights. As every feudal vassal owed his first allegiance to the crown, and indeed acknowledged the duty in person in the famous Oath of Salisbury, the crown, so far as feudal law went, was immensely strengthened; and the large and well distributed royal demesne made the monarchy able to exert its legal claims. The Saxon provincial earldoms were broken up, and only on the frontiers, like the Welsh borders, were solid fiefs granted; the lands of most barons were scattered and hard to combine in a revolt.

This wholesale settlement of a Norman and French class of feudal landholders as a permanent garrison under new and stringent conditions and the rearrangement of the royal demesnes were William's first great task of reorganization in England; the second was the Domesday Survey. Royal commissioners took evidence on oath from representatives of each hundred or subdivision of the shire as to the ownership, the population, the sources and amount of income, and the taxable value of each manor within it; and the evidence was digested and written down in Domesday Book. This was indeed a unique achievement in the eleventh century and of extraordinary value for the monarchy, which thereby knew its resources.

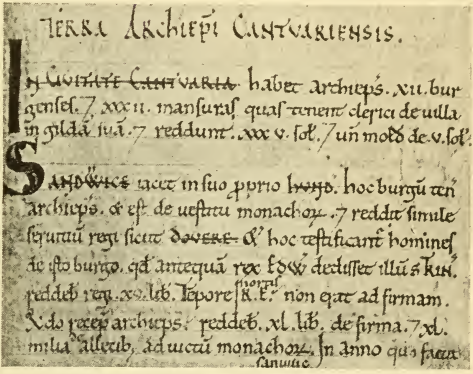
Here we come to William's work of preservation of what he found. English kings had levied a general tax, the Danegeld; this right, lost elsewhere in the West, was kept. The old popular court of the shire was still functioning, a valuable check on feudal jurisdictions; it was retained. The English 'fyrd,' or national militia, was kept—in better work-

ng order than the Norman 'arrière-ban' which it resembled. The native law was left to stand with an admixture of Norman custom, such as the ordeal by battle. Like the law, the native sheriff, the royal officer in the shire-court, remained with powers, if anything, increased, and was assimilated to the Norman vicomte whom he paralleled.

A Norman version of an English institution may be seen in the King's Council. The old English assembly of 'wise men,' the witenagemot, was transformed into the Curia Regis, which every tenant-in-chief was feudally bound to attend at call. This heterogeneous assembly, which might vary from day to day from a few household officers to a complete gathering of barons and bishops, was the parent not only of Parliament, the privy council and the higher courts of law, but of all state departments. The Normans had an innate tendency to allot to officials appropriate spheres of work.

It was not only in war and government and in Church matters that the Norman invaders transformed England. They were now Frenchmen, and they put the land once more in close touch with the tradition of Latin Civilization gathered round the Mediterranean: what as Danes they had destroyed, as Normans they more than renewed. S. Anselm of Canterbury was almost a Father of the Church, and a school of historians arose, equals of any in the West. The cult of Canon Law, itself an offspring of the ancient Civil Law, was a cult of Roman civilization. Norman vernacular literature was a mere department of that of medieval France; nevertheless, it exercised an important influence on the whole by introducing the themes of Arthurian and Celtic legend from Brittany and Wales into French poetry and prose; and, again, as being one channel by which French literature transformed English from Anglo-Saxon into the Latinised tongue of Chaucer.

In the humbler task of exploiting the land the Normans were also proficient. The Saxons had been great village-founders in primeval woodland; now the Normans replaced woodland by arable, and with the increase of the food supply increased the population and the value of land. If the peasant and the fallen Saxon proprietor very commonly fell to the hard lot of a mere serf, a new energy and a new capacity reigned in England.


TERRA ARCHIEPI CANTUARIENSIS.

In Civitate Cantuaria habet archiep̄s. xii. burgenses. 7 xxxii. mansuras quas tenent clerici de ulla in gildā suā. 7 reddunt. xxx v. sol. / un mod de v. sol.

Sandwiche iacet in suo pprio burgo. hoc burgū tenet archiep̄s. & est de uestitu monachorū. 7 reddit simule cum reliquis regi sicut dovere. & hoc testificant homines de isto burgo. qd antequā rex Edw̄ dedisset illū s̄ kis. reddeb̄ reg. xx. lib. tempore R. E. non qat ad firmam. Ado praes̄ archiep̄s. reddeb̄. xl. lib. de firma. 7 xl. mlta allerib. ad uestitū monachorū. In anno quo fuit

EXTRACT FROM DOMESDAY BOOK

At the end of the year 1085 William the Conqueror dispatched royal commissioners throughout England to ascertain the ownership, population, income and taxable value of every manor; their returns were recorded in Domesday Book, so called because it constituted a judgement from which there was no appeal.

Record Office

The settlement and the adventures of the Normans did not stop with England itself. They soon began to spread to the rest of Britain. The marcher barons took up with joy the border warfare with the various Welsh princes which they inherited, and under William II South Wales was conquered by and divided among them. In the reign of Rufus, too, the last heir of the Saxon kings, Edgar the Atheling, led an Anglo-Norman army to place his nephew Edgar on the throne of Scotland, and thence followed a half-English, half-Norman migration north, which eventually led to Bruce and Balliol and Stewart becoming Scottish as well

as Anglo-Norman houses; and with them they carried something of the Norman ways and civilization. The very last wave of the same impulse carried Richard Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, and other Anglo-Normans to Ireland in the days of Henry II.

Norman Adventurers in South Italy

It was a similar series of private enterprises which in the preceding century had led to the foundation of the second Norman kingdom, that of Sicily and South Italy. Till the conquest of England no field of immigration rivalled it. Whole families like the twelve sons of Tancred of Hauteville came in detachments to carve themselves fortunes by their swords.

Robert Guiscard ('the cunning'), a younger son of Tancred, typifies their method of conquest. Fixing himself in northern Calabria he led the life of a brigand chief; he starved the little towns into surrender by destroying their crops; and his band increased. Like him were many others, and a wail of distress went up from the plundered land. The reforming pope, Leo IX raised and led an army to exterminate these pests, but he was defeated and captured at Civitate in 1053; and a later pope, Nicholas II, adopted a startling change of policy.

Perhaps at the suggestion of Cardinal Hildebrand, the pope, who needed a protector against Roman nobles and German officials, decided to ally with the Normans, and made a feudal grant of Apulia and Sicily as duchies to Robert Guiscard, and of Capua to its Norman possessor, Richard. This treaty of Melfi (1059) meant a revolution in the Norman position: from anarchic bandits they became vassals of the Papacy with a lawful state. Under the new regime it became possible that the conquest of Apulia from the Byzantines should be completed in 1071, and that the conquest of Sicily from the Moslems, carried on chiefly by Guiscard's youngest brother, Roger, should come to an end in 1091. To relate how these conquests became the kingdom of Sicily belongs, properly, to Chapter 93; here we need only stress the peculiarities of the conquest. Unlike England, Apulia was conquered by many adventurous chiefs, who submitted to a single ruler and his rights on compulsion; Apulia therefore became the classic land of baronial disloyalty and revolt. Apulia, again, was only made a monarchy by the remarkable abilities of the Hauteville family; odious as Guiscard was, he was great in war and council; his brother Roger of Sicily was only less able; but what their talents gained was an artificial creation demanding equal talents to preserve—a difficult problem in hereditary succession.

Robert Guiscard was barely secure in Apulia before he began to attempt the conquest of the Eastern Empire. He did not succeed, but he left the aspiration for eastern conquest in the mind of his disinherited eldest son, Bohemund; and Bohemund was one of the leaders and prime movers of the First Crusade. In that new migration the Normans took their full share. We may think of Palestine as the eastern limit of their wanderings.

It was not unnatural that, while its sons filled Europe with their wars and achievements, Normandy became less prominent. Like the rest of Henry I's dominions, it fell for a while under the disorderly rule of Stephen, and then accepted with joy Henry I's Plantagenet heir, Henry II, the Angevin. Henry II ruled Normandy like a native sovereign; and it could not help being the connecting link between England and his other French possessions. Richard I fortified the province incomparably with stone walls, like those of Château Gaillard, but it submitted with singular ease to Philip Augustus of France when he declared it confiscated from the odious John. We may suspect that the fever of Norman particularism had been allayed by the blood-letting of the emigration.

The function of the Normans in the history of civilization appears to be mainly that of a stimulus to more creative races. Each Norman, like the Scandinavian Viking before him, comes before us as abounding with restless individual energy, as possessed of a remarkable capacity to trade, which is allied to his quick perception of the merits and value of other men's belongings and an immediate desire to acquire them. It may have been because of their very individualism that, when unmixed in the north, they do not appear as the creative organizers of institutions that they became when blended with Frenchmen in Normandy. Their

original outlook, that of the Sagas, was too individual and personal. But in the lands of their settlement, in the process of melting into other nations, they both gave and took. They gave their energy, their businesslike procedure, their aptitude for arranging the terms of a bargain, their insatiable acquisitiveness.

They acquired a social outlook, a capacity for the joint enterprise of civilization, a reverence for the abnegations of religion. Hence in their latest phase they are creators of institutions, of efficient methods of carrying on community life, methods quite unlike those of jaded imitation current in Charlemagne's Empire; but new devices for new needs, simple, diverse, elastic, adaptable, able to grow and differentiate. These things, of inestimable value for the future, were some compensation for the addition they made to the sum of human misery.

ENGLISH AND BRETON PRINCES WHOM THE NORMANS OVERCAME

Brittany had long been coveted by the dukes of Normandy, and in 1064 William defeated Conan II of Brittany. In the same year Harold's visit to the Norman court led to incidents on which William afterwards relied to justify his invasion of England. These strips of the Bayeux tapestry show both William's victims: above, Harold out riding with hawks and hunting dogs, and below, Conan surrendering the keys of Dinan—a wooden keep on a mound—to the Norman besiegers.

BYZANTINISM IN ITS VARIED ASPECTS

AN ESTIMATION OF THE SPIRIT THAT ANIMATED THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE AND OF THE DEBT THAT EUROPE OWES TO IT

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CERTAIN features must ever be in the mind of the reader who would estimate aright the spirit of Byzantinism. It was at once Imperial Roman, Greek and also Christian, and the religious atmosphere and the defence of what was accounted orthodoxy were always prominent. The Greek element was not the classical, for that was the outcome of the city state; it was the Hellenistic Greek—the product of Alexander's conquests, by which the Greek language and Greek customs were carried into the East, and in process of time underwent considerable modification. Had it not been for Alexander, Byzantinism could never have played the rôle that it actually did in world history.

Much debate has taken place as to the precise period from which Byzantinism may be dated. Early in the fourth century A.D. Constantine the Great transferred to his new capital the institutions prevailing at Rome, and, though the population was mainly Greek, his laws and official pronouncements were in Latin.

IT was not until the close of the sixth century that Greek ousted Latin for official purposes, but it is generally agreed that it is the accession of the Isaurian dynasty with Leo III (717-741) that marks the coming into force of the real Byzantinism, for it was then that the Empire had to grapple with problems peculiarly its own, namely the fight against Islam, the great Iconoclastic controversy, and its relations with the neighboring peoples, more particularly with the Slavs.

Fully developed Byzantinism cannot be understood without reference to the main political organization from the time of Constantine. This emperor carried on a system which had been inaugurated by Diocletian in the Roman Empire, whereby a career in the army was completely separated from a career in the civil service. All suitable men, whether senators or knights, could adopt one or other of these careers, and the emperor, like his predecessors of Rome, retained the controlling power in his own hands. He was in theory the nominee of the Senate or of the army, and their choice was ratified by the acclamation of the people. The sovereign thus acclaimed absorbed into himself the powers which had nominally been held by the Senate and the people under the early Roman Empire.

It should be noted that in theory the Empire was elective and not hereditary, and that the emperor held a life tenure, unless, as was too often the case, he was overthrown by revolution. In practice, however, dynastic tendencies are to be observed from the very beginning of the Eastern Roman Empire, and from time to time this tendency is very marked. Another feature of the Empire is the claim to world sway, which has its counterpart in the claim implied in the title of Oecumenical Patriarch. Hence the extreme reluctance of Constantinople to admit the imperial title of the Western emperors after the crowning of Charlemagne.

THE principle check on the absolutism of the "Autocrator" was the existence of a highly trained and minutely sub-divided civil service, assisted in its precise working by the maintenance of a most rigid etiquette. Probably no empire has been more thoroughly organized than the Byzantine Empire.

The bureaucracy was centered in the capital under the Master of Offices, who was responsible for the vast imperial correspondence and the introduction of foreign ambassadors. The chief minister for finance was the Count of the Sacred Largesses, a title which, though the scope of the office was infinitely wider, serves to remind us that the dole system was scarcely less important in Constantinople than centuries before it had been in Imperial Rome. The emperor's private estates were administered by another count. The City Prefect was, as he had been in Rome, the chief commissioner of police. An aristocracy of title, the patricians, created for life, went side by side with the titled officials. It may be added that it became a regular practice under the Byzantine Empire to purchase titles, and that in some cases a return on this invested capital was made in the form of a salary. It was a system which was extended to minor official posts, and these posts were negotiable securities. Those who are forward to condemn this feature of Byzantinism may be reminded that similar practices are not unknown in modern states.

ARMS AND ARMOR OF BYZANTINE WARRIORS

Clear representations of the equipment of Byzantine troops appear on numerous carvings. Like the mounted St. George (bottom right), the cavalrymen above carry sword and spear and circular shield, but the former wears the heavy mail armor of the cataphract. On the left is St. Theodore 11th century.

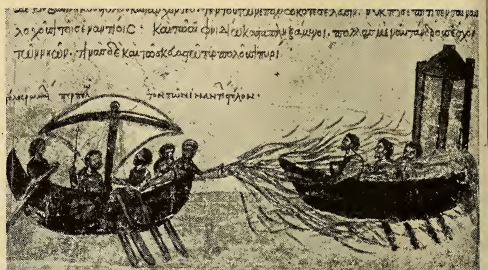
Victoria and Albert, Bargello (Florence) and British Museums

For purposes of government the Empire was divided at first into four "prefectures," with a praetorian prefect at the head of each; a prefecture was split up into dioceses under vicars, and the dioceses into provinces under governors. The prefect was answerable for the supply of troops, the enforcement of laws and the raising of taxes in his prefecture. But, thanks to their right of direct appeal to the emperor, the different officials exercised a check upon each other.

Continuous warfare against the Goths, Persians, Avars and Slavs led to important modifications in the government of the provinces, and to the supremacy of the military commander over the civil governor. This system arose in the seventh century with the creation of the themes, which were themselves the outcome of the exarchates formed in Italy and Africa. The change was important, for the *strategus* (military commander) of the theme gradually united in his hands both civil and military administration, and by the time of the Isaurians this system was complete. Each theme had its own army corps, subdivided into brigades and regiments; but the numbers of troops were relatively low, and throughout the history of the Byzantine Empire it is noticeable that very much depended upon the personal character of the emperor and the enthusiasm for service with which he could inspire the more warlike elements in the different provinces.

As regards the army generally, there was no system of universal compulsory service, and there was an increasing reluctance on the part of the citizens of

the Empire to bear arms. In Constantinople itself there was no body of troops exactly corresponding to the praetorian guards of Imperial Rome; but the emperors had a personal guard called at first *protectores,* then *domestici,* and, finally, Varangians.



GREEK FLAME PROJECTORS

Various combustibles were used by the Byzantines. Hand tubes were flung by grenadiers to explode on impact and pots of inflammable liquids were hurled by engineers. Greek fire, a liquid with a naphtha basis and both explosive and incendiary, was propelled through tubes manipulated by a 'siphonator.'

From MS. 'History of Skylitzes'; photo, G. Millet, Hautes Etudes

OUTSIDE the capital chief regard was paid to the defense of the frontiers, and the bulk of the frontier troops, called Borderers, were supplied by those who had received lands, passing from father to son, with obligation to perform military service. But even amongst these there was a tendency to compound for service by a money payment. There were also court troops, the *comitatenses* and *palatini,* who had special privileges but bore an unsatisfactory reputation.

The troops were divided into horse and foot regiments, but the heavy cavalry, the *cataphracti,* whose riders and horses were covered with mail armor, were a special feature of Byzantine armies. A single general ultimately commanded both branches of the service, and the ranks of the regulars were swollen by volunteers, and were supported by barbarian troops, such as those of the Khazars between the Black Sea and the Caspian, under their own leaders. As time went on the Empire became increasingly dependent upon the support of foreign troops.

For a long time the Byzantine Empire paid but slight attention to its fleet, and even Justinian carried out his great expeditions without the aid of a large navy. Constans II (642-668), in view of his policy of recovering Italy and Africa, had to pay increased attention to the navy. Later, after the naval revolt of Apsimar (698), the strength of the navy declined, with the result that the Mediterranean swarmed with Saracen and Slav pirates, as it had in the last century of the Roman Republic with pirates of a different nationality, and Crete and Sicily were lost. Under Basil I (867-886) the navy was revived, yet it should be noted that the crews were chiefly formed by foreigners, such as Slavs, just as the Roman fleets had been manned by slaves and freedmen, and the inferiority of the naval service was thus emphasized.

HARD-WORKED TILLERS OF THE SOIL

Taxation bore so heavily upon the Byzantine landowner that the smaller men were compelled to transfer their property to the larger holders and to gravitate downwards to the class of serf laborers attached to the soil. This eleventh-century miniature shows villagers tilling and pruning a vineyard.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

As regards fleet details, the large fighting ships of the Byzantine navy were the "dromons," rowed by two banks of oarsmen,

who numbered from three hundred to a hundred according to the size of the galley; there were also smaller and swifter ships called "Pamphylians." From a large wooden tower erected on the deck artillery discharged stones and other missiles, and from the seventh century onwards the more deadly weapon of "Greek fire" was employed; it was generally discharged from the prows, with the aid, perhaps, of some explosive, through flexible metallic tubes, but was also hurled in pots like grenades. Its composition is not known, but it probably had a basis of naphtha, and produced an explosive as well as an incendiary effect, as we know from Joinville's account of its terrors when used by the Saracens against the Crusaders. "Flame-throwers" are thus by no means a modern invention in warfare.

The land tax was the foundation of Byzantine finance. The total amount to be raised was announced each year by decree, and the sum to be paid by each district was settled through the prefect and the subordinate governors. The unit of taxation was a plot of land called the *jugum,* varying in size according to the productive capacity of the land and the character of the crops grown upon it; but in the end it came to be a tax upon the individual.

The pressure of taxation was so severe that, despite repeated legislation to prevent it, the poor cultivator tended to transfer his land to the large landowners or ecclesiastical proprietors, who worked their estates by slaves or serf-laborers tied to the soil. In this way he, too, became a serf, and a process went on by which serfdom became general. The Iconoclast emperors did their best to free the serfs, but in the long run their efforts were ineffectual, and the problem of the large estates (*latifundia*) of the Roman Republic was repeated in a different form under the Byzantine Empire.

STATE BANQUET IN THE TRICLINION

The rigid etiquette prescribed in the tenth-century 'Book of Ceremonies' governed every detail of court life at Constantinople. This mosaic, in which Herod and Herodias are portrayed as Byzantine emperor and empress, well suggests the formality of the state banquets, which were a frequent form of entertainment at the palace.
From St. Mark's Baptistery, Venice; photo, Alinari

Of the court and aristocratic life of Constantinople the emperor was the focus, and it was he who determined the rigid ceremonial which was so conspicuous a feature of the palace.

It was the emperor, wearing his diadem, robes and purple buskins, who received and entertained the numerous foreign ambassadors and visitors in the magnificent halls of the Great Palace.

Among the palace entertainments which ambassadors attended, banquets in the Triclinion, the dining hall of the Great Palace, with its nineteen divans, were prominent. At these banquets representatives of all sides of Byzantine upper-class life were present: of the nobility, the army, the civil service, the Church and the university. The banquet hall, with its marble columns and floor, gleamed with light from the wax tapers of great silver candelabra. Choirs from the churches of the Holy Apostles and St. Sophia sang hymns during the feast, and the various courses were brought in on wagons and served on gold plate. Knives and forks were not used, and, as in ancient Rome, washing of the hands

was customary between each course. At dessert various entertainers amused the guests, skin-clad dancers from the north, or tumblers and jugglers drawn from Arabia and India. Music, other than sacred, found little approbation among the Byzantines.

As for amusements, besides the displays in the Hippodrome, hunting and fishing were popular imperial recreations. A kind of polo was also popular with some emperors.

The part played by women in court life was an important one. The bride of an emperor was sometimes selected from a bevy of fair maidens gathered from all parts of the Empire. The women's quarter of the palace was too often the center of intrigue.

Clad in magnificent robes of state, the empress often appeared by the emperor's side at the principal functions, and she is constantly so represented in Byzantine art. Not infrequently these imperial ladies experienced a sudden reversal of fortune, and were sent to "live with the angels" in some remote cloister. The eunuchs, who so often rose to positions of eminence in Byzantine life, played no insignificant part in these palace intrigues. The wives of the principal officials shared their titles, and were often present at imperial banquets.

Besides being the head of the army and the civil bureaucracy, the emperor was also the head of the Orthodox Church, and that Church took, perhaps, the most prominent part of all in Byzantine social life. The strong patriarchs of Constantinople could fearlessly confront the emperors, thanks to the support of the people. The religious conflicts of the Empire have often been the subject of scornful criticism, and of all religious disputes the most celebrated and instructive was that concerning images. The Isaurian emperors started this controversy, and it is significant that it was in Asia Minor and Armenia that the most active opponents of the picture-loving monks were to be found. On the other hand, Greece was the great home of the monastic life, and consequently the center of the champions of image worship. The causes which induced Leo III and his successors to carry on their crusade against image worship were probably very complex. The desire to remove a reproach at which the followers of Mahomet pointed the finger of scorn was no doubt one of them. Closely allied to this was a wish to eliminate from worship what tended to become a degrading superstition.

OUT AFTER WILD BOAR IN THE IMPERIAL FORESTS

In Troyes Cathedral is an ivory casket dating from the first half of the tenth century, one side of which is reproduced here. Hunting boars is the sport illustrated.

From Pierce & Tyler, 'Byzantine Art,' Ernest Benn, Ltd.

It is incontestable that to the less educated mind the visible image is often a help to the realization of things spiritual, and from this standpoint the monks had solid ground for resisting the destruction of images. After a long struggle, lasting for nearly one hundred and fifty years, images were finally restored, and in the form of pictures (icons) have continued a characteristic feature of the Orthodox Church to the present day.

It was in vain that the Iconoclast emperors fought to root out superstition from a people who devoutly believed that an outbreak of cattle disease was due to the breaking of a marble ox-head in the neighborhood of the Studion monastery. Yet it must be accounted a sign of strength, inherited from their Roman predecessors, that the Byzantine emperors maintained their supremacy over the Church.

An important product of this mentality of the Byzantines is the rise and spread of monasticism throughout their Empire. The metaphysical vein, which has been described as characteristic of the Eastern mind, found relief in withdrawal from the active affairs of the world and from the domination which the state exercised over the Church; and throughout the history of the Byzantine Empire there is a marked antagonism between those who favored a practical life and those who favored asceticism, an antagonism which has its parallel in the hostility of the practical man to the philosopher under the early Roman Empire.

The chief merit of the monastic institutions is that they kept alive some sort of intellectual tradition and preserved ancient Greek authors by copying them. Their chief defects were that they absorbed lands which would have been more useful in the hands of private owners, that they withdrew men from a life of active usefulness, and too often made them lazy and worthless.

'THE EMPRESS'

Notwithstanding some restoration this figure, splendid in purple and lilac and gold, is an unusually pure specimen of Byzantine mosaic. In state robes like these Byzantine empresses held court.
St. Mark's, Florence; photo, Brogi

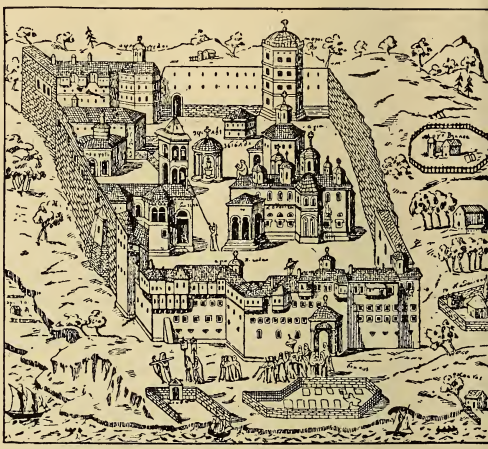
Before we proceed to discuss the life of the Byzantines, there is an important question upon which we must touch. How far did slavery, which exercised so profound an influence on the social life of Republican and Imperial Rome, continue to exist under the Byzantine Empire? Our information, especially with regard to city life, is defective. That both town and country slaves existed is certain. Slaves are frequently mentioned in Justinian's legislation of the sixth century, and in his "Institutes" slaves (*servi*) are said to have received their name from the fact that military commanders order their captives to be sold, and in this way usually preserve their lives. Whatever may be thought of the etymology, there is no doubt that the capture of enemies in warfare still continued to be a prolific source of slaves under the Byzantine Empire.

One of the principal articles in which the Russian traders dealt in their annual visit to Constantinople was slaves, so much so that one etymology has connected the name slaves and Slavs. It may safely be asserted that the menials in most of the large Byzantine houses were slaves, and that their numbers were in many cases large.

Yet it is probable that ordinary labor in towns was conducted on a system like that produced by Diocletian, whereby the laborer was bound to pursue an hereditary calling, but received wages and provided his own keep. This is the system indicated, as we shall see, in the tenth-century "Book of the Prefect." The "Farmer's Law" of the seventh and eighth centuries shows us the free *colonus* working in his village, and the slave working on the large landed proprietor's estate, but both classes tended to fall into the condition of serfs tied to the soil. Thus the Byzantine Empire makes an important transitional period from slavery to free labor.

We must picture the manual labor, trades and professions at Constantinople as in the hands of hereditary guilds,

resembling in some ways the *collegia* (associations) of the Roman Republic, but much more extensive. They stood quite apart from the official bureaucracy and the hierarchy of the clergy. Besides the trades necessary to the life of a great city, luxury trades must also have been very flourishing, for all the products of the East streamed into Constantinople.



WHERE MONASTICISM HAS PREVAILED FOR A THOUSAND YEARS

The peninsula of Mount Athos is unique as being the territory of a commonwealth of twenty monasteries, which since 1060 have been independent of the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople. The earliest was the Lavra, founded in 963 by Nicephorus Phocas; the latest was founded in 1545. Above is an early engraving of the Lavra derived from Byzantine sources.

Above, from Bayet, 'L'art byzantine.'

To take one, but a very important example, the silk trade alone would give employment to a large number, both in the working up of the raw material, and in the actual production of silk after the silkworm had been introduced into the Byzantine Empire towards the middle of the sixth century. The manufacture of silk was an imperial monopoly, and Thebes in Greece was noted as a flourishing seat of the industry. Merchants must have kept warehouses for their oriental importations, and Byzantine jewelry with its lavish use of precious stones argues a lively trade with India. From the ninth century onwards furs, honey and wax, in addition to slaves, were imported from Russia.

The Byzantine customs system was notoriously strict, and flogging was a common punishment for the contravention of customs regulations.

The "Book of the Prefect" reveals an elaborate control of the trade guilds. Labor is protected against capital, but the workman is strictly enjoined to remain in his own guild. Prices are fixed for the purchase of raw material and for the sale of foodstuffs. Place and time for the sale of goods by the guilds are prescribed, and severe penalties imposed for contravention. It is clear that the state kept a strict control over industry, and there is no evidence that anything in the shape of modern labor troubles occurred.

Unfortunately, we have very little information as to the housing conditions of the mass of the people in ancient Constantinople. Byzantine writers were not interested in such subjects, and little systematic excavation has been possible in the city. It may be conjectured that parts of Stamboul give a fair idea of the more crowded quarters of ancient Constantinople. The broader thoroughfares, however, permitted the passage of the splendid gilded carriages of the nobility.

Byzantine law furnishes us with most of our information about family life. The absolute rule of the *patria potestas* was modified, and the view gained ground that husband and wife were equal partners; and the consent of both was required for a child's marriage. The

BEAUTIFUL BYZANTINE TEXTILES

The silkworm was introduced into the Byzantine Empire in the sixth century, and superb textiles were produced in government factories at Constantinople, Thebes, Alexandria and elsewhere. This sixth-century specimen, representing Samson wrestling with the lion, was probably made at Alexandria.

Victoria and Albert Museum

rights of the children, too, were carefully guarded, and their disinheritance was restricted to very flagrant cases of breach of filial duty. Orphans were provided for by the institution of public orphanages, and by the right granted to a surviving father or mother to appoint a guardian by will. In all this the Church had great influence.

By Justinian's legislation concubinage had been recognized, and the legitimation of the children was rendered possible by a subsequent marriage; divorce had been permitted on a variety of grounds. The Iconoclast emperors no longer recognized concubinage, and restricted grounds of divorce to very flagrant causes, such as leprosy or attempted assassination. The Church forbade a third marriage, and narrowed the degrees of relationship within which marriage could be contracted, and, finally, insisted on a public ecclesiastical ceremony.

Most of our information as to education at Constantinople and in the Byzantine Empire relates to the fourth and fifth centuries. Children were taught reading and writing between the ages of about five and ten years; grammar and literature (including Homer and other Greek poets) between ten and eighteen; and thereafter followed a university education, principally concerned with philosophy based on the works of Aristotle, Plato, Zeno and Epicurus. But Justinian closed the university of Athens in 529, and Phocas that of Constantinople at the beginning of the seventh century. In its stead Heraclius, the successor of Phocas, founded an ecclesiastical school, but this and the following century were the dark age of Byzantine education. In the ninth century there was a revival; the Caesar Bardas reopened the university close to the forum of Theodosius I, and the study of geometry, astronomy and philology was ardently pursued.

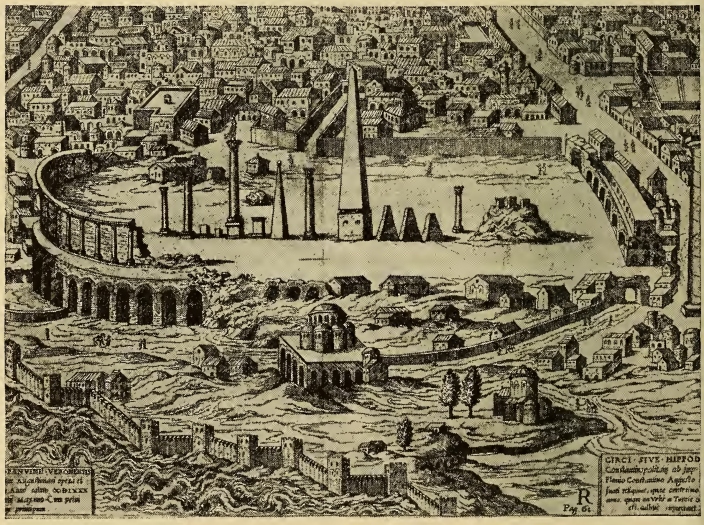
This is the age of the encyclopedists, the learning of which is summed up in the patriarch Photius, whose "Bibliotheca" shows an extraordinarily wide range of reading and supplies much information about lost Greek historians, as well as theological writers. In his "Lexicon" he laid the foundation of the Greek etymological lexicons. In the eleventh century Michael Psellus covered all sides of learning, and the vogue of study is well exemplified in the person of the literary princess Anna Comnena—daughter of the emperor Alexius I, and a contemporary of Psellus—whose "Alexiad" teems with quotations from and allusions to classical Greek writers. Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that such learning was spread through the mass of the people.

POPULAR education was in the main theological, and saints and miracles occupied much of the average man's mind. He was fond of wearing amulets, with perhaps the figure of St. Panteleimon, the all-pitiful medical saint, and an inscription such as: "God protect the wearer." He eagerly believed the stories of miraculous interventions with which the Byzantine chronicles abound.

Obviously, the splendor of St. Sophia and of the many other churches in Constantinople must have had considerable influence upon the lives of the inhabitants. St. Sophia was to them, in the words of a chronicler, "a heaven upon earth, a new Sion, the boast of the universe, the glory of the churches, which surpasses all the buildings of the world." The internal blaze of color, the gorgeous vestments of the clergy, of which those of the Orthodox clergy of today give an idea, the solemn ritual and, above all, the singing must have produced a religious frame of mind, if not a spiritual uplifting.

BYZANTINE hymns and chants as reproduced today strike the Western listener at least as somewhat monotonous and melancholy, but they bring with them a religious atmosphere. The singer (*psaltes*) was prominent in Byzantine church life; and it may be said, without irreverence, that church festivals, processions and ritual took the place not merely of Roman religious festivals, but also of the theatre of ancient Greece and Rome. The churches, too, served as places of refuge from the cruelty of the law or the fury of the mob.

The Hippodrome, with its horse-racing, was the scene of conflict between the "Greens" and the "Blues," and, though

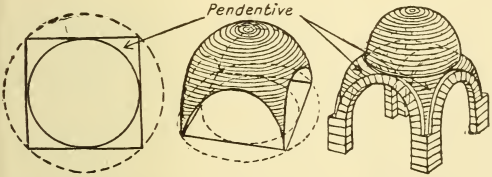


OLDEST KNOWN PICTURE OF THE CONSTANTINOPLE HIPPODROME

This print, first published in 1600 but based on an earlier fifteenth-century drawing, shows the appearance of the Hippodrome shortly before the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. Part of the colonnade that enclosed the course stood until 1605. Recent excavations have ascertained that the length of the Hippodrome was 485 yards, with a width of 118 yards.

Courtesy of Stanley Casson

the political powers of the factions were broken during Justinian's reign, the amusements of the Hippodrome continued to the end of the period with which we are dealing. The interludes tended to become more varied, owing to the increasing variety of peoples with whom the Byzantines were brought into contact—the Saracens, Slavs, Khazars and Patzinaks (Petchenegs), whose peculiar customs were made to contribute to the pleasures of the capital. Thus the Arabs furnished jugglers and the peoples of the north their dancers clad in skins of wild beasts, and there were increased opportunities for the exhibition of rare animals. There were occasional torchlight dances, and organs made music.



HOW TO ROOF A SQUARE WITH A DOME

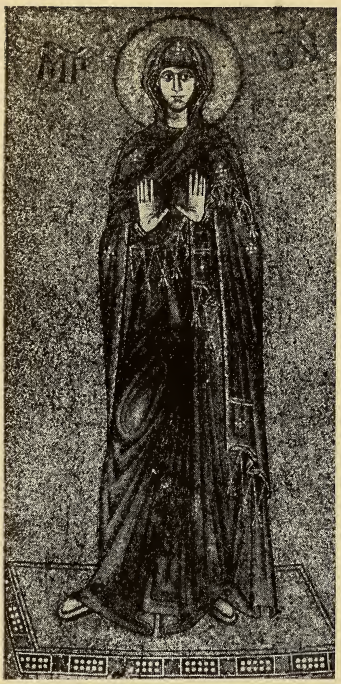
A dome, to cover a square, must overlap it (left), while if the overlapping portions are cut off vertically (center) the dome becomes imperfect. The Byzantines secured a circular base for a perfect dome by slicing off the top of this imperfect one (right), whose remaining sections are known as 'pendentives.'

From Helen Gardner, 'Art Through the Ages'

The Hippodrome was, however, the scene of numerous other momentous events in Byzantine life. There many a conspirator, criminal or fallen official was exposed for punishment amid the execrations of the multitude; there many a triumph was celebrated. There the spoils won in war were displayed, and if the emperor was gracious the prisoners might be allowed, after doing homage, to view the games from the steps below the seating-tiers. For the Byzantine emperors were not always cruel to their captured foes, and Arab and Slav prisoners of war often served in the armies.

Also the public baths afforded the citizens of Constantinople recreation and relaxation. The "Notitia" (survey) of the fifth century informs us that there were then eight public and one hundred and fifty-three private baths in the city. Our archaeological and literary information as to this side of Byzantine life will not compare with that on the baths of ancient Rome. We have to infer the popularity of public baths from statements such as that of Prodromus to the effect that a well-to-do man would take his public bath three times a week. We gather from the same writer that private baths were something of a luxury, and that the monks in monasteries were severely restricted in this respect. The nuns in the exceptionally well regulated convent of Irene Ducas were allowed a bath only once a month. Constantinople was liberally supplied with water by aqueducts from the west and north-west; it was stored in reservoirs and cisterns in the city.

One repulsive feature of Byzantine manners there is which must be touched upon. The history of the Empire teems with examples of flogging, blinding and mutilations inflicted as penalties. These punishments were recognized both by civil and military law. There are very many instances of such punishments inflicted on members of the highest circles of Byzantine society. The empress Irene blinded her son in 797; the emperor Justinian II, himself distinguished for his cruelty, had his nose slit on his deposition by the rebel Leontius in 695, and was banished to Cherson. Henceforth known by the sobriquet of "Slit-nose" (Rhinotmetus), he was restored again, and, despite his revolting mutilation, reigned from 705 to 711. It is not surprising that under the influence of such examples in high places the Byzantine mob perpetrated acts of the grossest cruelty. The most glaring instance is the treatment meted out to the fallen Andronicus Comnenus, the handsome but dissolute emperor who had himself condemned countless members of the high nobility to blinding and execution. At his death the women were foremost in



MOSAIC OF THE MADONNA

In their standardization of Christian types the Byzantine mosaic artists reached perfection. In the Virgin particularly, enthroned or standing in apses, they produced beautiful embodiments of dignity and tenderness.

Murano Cathedral; photo, Alinari

devising ingenuity of torture. But fallen patriarchs and ministers not seldom suffered only a lesser degree of indignity.

VARIOUS theories have been advanced to account for this cruel streak in Byzantine character. The constant threats to which the city was exposed at the hands of invaders have been thought to have impaired the nerve fiber of the people. Some have considered that blinding and mutilation were regarded as merciful mitigations of the death penalty, and this theory derives support from the fact that the Christian legislation of the Iconoclasts in many cases substituted mutilation and flogging for the death penalty. A modern generation has seen that war strain can produce acts of cruelty unimaginable in ordinary times, and the state of tension in which the Byzantines lived may have had its share in fostering cruelty. It is scarcely surprising that the Byzantines, with their blend of Roman imperialism and Greek tradition, often showed the worst features of both, nor is it amiss to remind ourselves that Anglo-Saxon law was long marked by savage and barbarous penalties.

There are many aspects of this Byzantine life which are open to criticism, and it cannot be denied that, thanks largely to the genius of Gibbon, Byzantinism has become a byword for absolutism, empty ceremonial, barren theological polemics, cruelty and superstition. Some of these charges are true, but most of them could be levelled at any great empire at some period of its history. What is less often considered is the greatness of the debt which modern civilization owes to Byzantinism.

BYZANTIUM may be said to have fought a continuous battle for existence from her refoundation by Constantine the Great till her capture by Mohammed II in 1453.

When we consider the dangers caused to western Europe by the Ottoman sieges of Vienna in 1529 and 1683, it is not unreasonable to conclude that European history would have taken a very different course if the barrier of Constantinople had been broken down at a far earlier date than 1453. Not undeservedly have the walls of Constantinople been regarded as a symbol, and as such have left an indelible impression on the human mind.

It was Constantine who first associated Christianity with the state, and though some, with a different meaning from that of Dante, might be disposed to say:

Ah Constantine! of how much ill was mother
Not thy conversion, but that marriage dower
Which the first wealthy Father took from thee!

yet, despite all the manifold evils which sprang from the innumerable theological

controversies of the Byzantine Empire, the Eastern Church has remained faithful to the creeds which her Councils laid down, and has upheld the Faith amongst masses of men who have found in the Orthodox Church their one uplifting influence.

In their struggle with the Iconoclast emperors the Greek clergy and monks did great service in placing a check upon absolute autocracy, and the universality of canon law was an element of stability with which the Empire could have ill dispensed. This tradition the Greek Church carried on into later times, and the clergy were foremost in the opposition to the Turks. In the war of Greek independence many a brave and patriotic abbot cheered on his fellow countrymen to continue the struggle with the enemy.

But the Byzantine Church was also a missionary Church, and it is no mean heritage that it has left to the present time. The patriarch at Constantinople has spiritual authority over the Greek Christians left in the Turkish dominions; and the Hellenic kingdom, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Russia all derive their Church organization from the Greek Orthodox Church.

Closely allied to the spiritual debt which the modern world owes to Byzantium is the debt to her civilization. On the literary side, Byzantine ecclesiastical literature had a profound influence on the literature of the peoples with whom she was brought into contact, but literature was not the only channel through which Byzantium influenced the Slav peoples. Her architects and painters carried the Empire's civil and ecclesiastical architecture and decoration into the palaces and churches of Prespa and Ochrida, Kiev and Novi-Bazar. Court ceremony and costume from Constantinople were adopted by the monarchs of the Slav countries, and their official bureaucracies were modelled on those of Byzantium. Thus it is that at the present day Russia (considered historically), Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Rumania, and, it may be added, Turkey, cannot be understood without a realization of their debt to Byzantium.

EARLY IVORY CARVING

Byzantine ivory carving reached its zenith in the tenth century. This panel of St. Michael, however, remarkable for its size and superb modeling, dates from the fifth.

British Museum

Byzantine trade naturally affected these countries, making it possible for them to obtain the luxurious wares of the East. It is of the trade, however, between Russia and Constantinople that we have most knowledge. Every spring a trade expedition set out from Kiev down the Dnieper in boats hollowed from a single tree trunk, bound for Constantinople via the Black Sea. These Russian traders, who brought with them skins, wax, honey and slaves, were accorded privileges by the Byzantine government, and were allowed a special emporium at the bottom of the Golden Horn. They were exempted from tolls and granted free board, and on their return were supplied with tackle necessary for the

refitting of their boats. In this way Eastern wares penetrated to the Russians, who in their turn did the Empire service by protecting it from the attacks of barbarian tribes.

The Byzantine and Arab empires acted and reacted upon each other in matters of civilization, and especially in the pursuit of science and in military organization. The Arabs received instruction in philosophy and medicine from Constantinople through Syria, and the court of Baghdad was profoundly influenced by Greek learning, particularly by the writings of Aristotle. It is striking evidence of the mutual toleration shown that the Moslems were allowed a mosque in Constantinople.

One of the greatest of the debts which the world owes to the Byzantine Empire is on the score of its conservation of ancient Greek literature and of the Greek language. The study of Greek classical literature never really died out at Constantinople, and the Byzantine scholars exiled after 1453 gave to the West a key to enlightenment which it hardly deserved.

The influence of Byzantine architecture upon that of Russia, Bulgaria and Serbia has been very great, so that a brief estimate of Byzantine architecture and art as a whole would not be out of place here. The two branches are closely allied, for each was inspired mainly by religion. The artist spent much of his skill upon the mosaic decorations which adorn the architect's churches, and most of the smaller artistic products for which Byzantine art is famous were inspired by the religion which produced its churches.

MEDIEVAL ART IN THE SERVICE OF RELIGION

Byzantine artists devoted their highest skill to the adornment of articles of ecclesiastical use. Some of the chalices were particularly beautiful objects. The best examples are in the treasury of St. Mark's, Venice. Here we have a chalcedony hemispherical cup set in silver gilt with enameled plaques and mounted on a stand. This is a tenth-eleventh century work.

St. Mark's, Venice; photos, Alinari

Whereas the Roman architects developed the arch, vault and apse, the Byzantines developed the dome. It was the popularity of the dome, probably due to Oriental influence, which led to the essentially Byzantine device of the pendentive, a spherical triangle used for filling out the segments lying between the square plan of the pillars and the circle of the dome. This device is best exemplified in St. Sophia, and it is significant that both its architects came from Asia Minor; the interior decoration schemes in brightly colored mosaics are also an Eastern feature. The mosaic wall-decorations of Byzantine churches, devoted to Christ and the Virgin, to apostles and saints, emphasize the Christian character of the architecture.

In the illumination of manuscripts, and in their small works in ivory, precious metals and jewelry the Byzantine artists excelled. The illuminator's art was carried to a high degree of perfection, and Byzantine manuscripts are un-

surpassed for minute attention to detail and brilliant coloring. We can realize that the Iconoclasts in their campaign against the pictures seemed to the lay and monkish artists to threaten not merely religion, but also an employment which depended on the popularity of pictures for its existence.

To sum up the characteristics of the Byzantine Empire in a few lines is an almost impossible task, yet it is worth while to recall some of its salient features. The Eastern Empire drew upon the heritage of Imperial Rome, and her emperors proudly arrogated to themselves that world sway to which ancient Rome could once lay claim with truth, but which passed away with the transference of the capital to Constantinople. It could have claimed, perhaps with greater justification, to be the inheritor of the traditions of Alexander's Empire, for much of Byzantinism is Hellenistic Greek in spirit and in outward manifestation.

PORTRAIT IN PORPHYRY

Although the subject cannot be identified, this porphyry head is clearly an example of Byzantine portraiture. Experts attribute this work to the first half of the tenth century.

St. Mark's, Venice; photo, Anderson

But these legacies from Hellenism and Roman imperialism were modified by many new influences. The Persians, Arabs and Slavs, and the other peoples about whom the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus has so much to say in his "Administration of the Empire," all had their share in impressing new features on Byzantine life, but Constantinople gave more than she received. Christianity, so closely identified with the state, was, after all, the dominating influence on Byzantine life, and missionary zeal spread the Gospel from the oases of the Sahara to the banks of the Dnieper. The Bulgarians, Russians and Serbs adopted the court ceremonial and architecture of Constantinople; her ecclesiastical literature penetrated to Armenia on the east and to Serbia on the west. To the Arabs she opened up the treasures of ancient Greek science and philosophy.

From western Europe she received but little of permanent value. But though she received little she gave much. Her architecture left its mark on Venice, and impressed its traces farther west. It is, however, to her conservation of the treasures of ancient Greek literature, and to her resistance to the disruptive forces of North and East during so many centuries, that western Europe owes most; those who profess and call themselves Christians should be thankful for her upholding of the Christian faith amid appalling dangers and difficulties. Her monasteries may be open to many criticisms, but they multiplied manuscripts and set an example of charity to the poor. It was in Constantinople that the Christian spirit first took practical shape in the founding of charitable institutions, hospitals for the sick, homes for the aged and orphanages for children. The Eastern Orthodox Church has steadfastly maintained these ideals among the Balkan peoples.

RICHMOND'S FORMIDABLE CASTLE BUILT TO KEEP THE NORTH OF ENGLAND IN SUBJECTION

Perhaps because of its apparently impregnable position on the rock rising sheer above the river Swale, Richmond Castle never had the motte, or central mound, characteristic of the early Norman fortresses. It was apparently walled from its foundation, the whole enclosed area of five acres practically constituting a motte in itself. The keep, one of the finest examples of Norman rectangular keep in existence, stands apart. The castle is an impressive symbol of the haughty domination and tyranny, not unmixed with fear, that characterized the conquerors of whom it is a monument.

Photochrom

Fifth Era

THE CRUSADING ERA

1073—1303

CHRONICLE XVIII—The Clash of East and West, 1073-1152

CHAPTER

91. Serfdom and Feudalism — *Prof. G. W. Coopland, Litt.D.*
92. Ireland's Part in Medieval History — *Stephen L. Gwynn*
93. Sicily Under the Normans — *Prof. E. G. Gardner, Litt.D.*
94. Social Life in Norman England — *Prof. F. M. Stenton, F.B.A.*

CHRONICLE XIX—East and West: Conflict and Intercourse, 1152-1216

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CHRONICLE XX—The Age of Eastern Imperialism, 1216-1303

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103. Europe in the Age of Chivalry — *R. B. Mowat*

Although the Byzantine state, under Greek or "Latin" emperors, lingered until its destruction by the Ottoman Turks in 1453, what really gave it its death-blow was the loss of Asia Minor to the Seljuks at the battle of Manzikert in 1071; and it was these Seljuks who, by reversing the normal Mahomedan principle of toleration to Christian pilgrims in the Holy Land, made it possible for the Byzantine emperor to enlist the sympathy of the Western nations and set them crusading. Again, it was the election of Hildebrand as Pope Gregory VII in 1073, two years after Manzikert, that marked the rise of the Papacy to the greatest height of power and prestige ever attained by it, a prestige that enabled Pope Urban to organize the First Crusade in 1095 as the outward expression of an apparently united Christendom. Again, it was the crusaders who in the event gave its second death-blow, so to speak, to Byzantinism when the so-called Fourth Crusade captured Constantinople in 1204 and established the short-lived Latin Empire. And finally the Crusades, by promoting a renewed contact between East and West, had an economic and cultural significance that far outweighed their apparent political futility.

Events of world importance which it would be hard to link up with this nexus of facts took place in India and China throughout the period, but the foregoing is the justification for fixing 1073 as the date at which to terminate The Byzantine Era, and choosing The Crusading Era as the title of the one that here ensues. It extends to 1303, in which year the capture of Boniface at Anagni marked the end of papal pretensions, the last Christian fortress in Syria having fallen to the Saracens in 1291.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XVIII

A.D.

1073 Hildebrand elected pope as Gregory VII.
Henry IV occupied with the Saxons.
Sulayman captures Nicæa.
1075 Henry IV defeats the Saxons.
Gregory issues decree against lay investiture.
Henry declares Gregory deposed. Gregory excommunicates Henry and declares him deposed.
1076 Seljuk Turks seize Jerusalem.
German nobles and prelates turn against Henry.
1077 Canossa; submission and humiliation of Henry.
Election of Rudolf of Swabia, followed by German reaction in Henry's favor.
Sultanate of Roum established at Nicæa by Sulayman.
1081 Alexius I Comnenus deposes Nicephorus. Comneni rule for a century.
Robert Guiscard besieges Durazzo and defeats Byzantines.
Henry IV invades Italy and besieges Gregory in Rome.
1082 Henry occupies the Leonine City at Rome.
1083 Henry occupies Rome; Gregory holds out in the castle of S. Angelo.
1084 Henry IV is crowned at Rome by Clement. Robert Guiscard returns from Macedonia, raises the siege of S. Angelo, sacks Rome and retires. Gregory follows him to Salerno.
1085 Death of Gregory and of Guiscard
Robert succeeded as duke of Apulia by his son Roger; Bohemund count of Otranto withdraws Normans to Italy.
Alfonso VI of Castile captures Toledo.
1086 Alfonso is defeated at Zallaca by the Almoravid Yussuf; who establishes the Almoravid ascendancy in S. Spain (1086-98).
1087 England: William Rufus succeeds the Conqueror.
1088 Urban II pope.
1092 Sultan Malik Shah dies. Wars of succession.
1095 Alexius appeals to Urban at Council of Piacenza (March). The First Crusade proclaimed at Council of Clermont (November).
1096 Crusaders assemble at Constantinople (Dec.).
1097 Crusaders invade Asia Minor, take Nicæa, drive Kilij Arslan to Iconium, which becomes the capital of Roum, cross the Taurus, secure Edessa and besiege Antioch.
1098 Crusaders take Antioch. Fatimids recapture Jerusalem from Seljuks.
1099 Crusaders capture Jerusalem (July). Beginning of the "Latin Kingdom" under Godfrey of Bouillon with title Advocate of Jerusalem.
Death of Ruy Diaz (Cid Campeador).
Henry IV has his second son Henry V crowned.
Death of Urban. Paschal II pope.
1100 Baldwin I succeeds his brother Godfrey at Jerusalem, with title of king. Organization of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem with feudatory princes at Edessa, Antioch and Tripolis; the typical feudal state.
England: accession of Henry I (to 1135).
1106 Henry I of England secures Normandy by defeating his elder brother Duke Robert at Tenchebrai.
1108 France: accession of Louis VI the Fat.
1111 Henry V in Italy. Paschal resigns temporalities and then other claims; crowns Henry V.
1112 Paschal repudiates his pledges. Series of revolts (1112–18) in Germany.

A.D.

1118 Death of Paschal II.
1119 Sanjar Seljuk sultan (to 1159).
Calixtus II pope.
Alfonso I of Aragon wins Saragossa.
1122 Concordat of Worms ends investiture dispute.
1124 Calixtus dies; Honorius II pope.
Scotland: accession of David I (to 1153).
1125 Death of Henry V. Lothair of Saxony elected emperor. Rivalry of Welf and Weiblingen.
1127 Roger II of Sicily succeeds William of Apulia and extends dominion over South Italy.
The Turk Zanghi made "atabeg" of Mosul.
Institution of the Order of Knights Templars.
1129 Matilda (Empress Maud) d. of Henry I of England m. Geoffrey son of Fulk of Anjou.
1130 Fulk of Anjou (son-in-law) succeeds Baldwin II.
Election of rival popes Anacletus II and Innocent II. Papal schism to 1138.
1131 Bernard of Clairvaux and emperor Lothair support Innocent.
1132 Lothair campaigns against Roger II in Apulia.
1134 Lothair reconciled with Hohenstaufen. Anacletus recognizes Roger as "king" of Sicily.
1135 England: accession of Stephen of Blois; succession claimed by Empress Maud; eighteen years of civil war and feudal anarchy.
1137 Quarrel of Lothair and Innocent. Death of Lothair (December).
Accession of Louis VII after marriage with Elinor of Aquitaine.
1138 Conrad III (Hohenstaufen) elected emperor.
Innocent attacks and is taken prisoner by Roger, who extorts recognition as king of Sicily, officially "held of the pope."
1139 Henry the Proud (Welf) deprived of Saxony and Bavaria.
Alfonso Henriques, count of Porto Cale, defeats Moors at Ouriques, and is first king of Portugal.
1141 Defeat of Sultan Sanjar by Kara-Khitais.
1142 Henry the Lion (Welf) restored in Saxony.
Albert the Bear established in Mark of Brandenburg.
1143 Manuel I succeeds John II at Constantinople.
Baldwin III (minor) succeeds Fulk at Jerusalem.
1145-49 Struggle in Spain between Almoravids and Almohades who win the supremacy.
1146 Zanghi succeeded at Mosul by Nour ed-Din.
Bernard of Clairvaux preaches a new Crusade.
Louis VII and Conrad III take the Cross (the "Second Crusade").
1148 Collapse of the Second Crusade.
1149 Advance of Sancho IX of Castile in central Spain, signalized by the establishment of a Cistercian monastery at Calatrava.
1150 Union of Catalonia with Aragon through the marriage of Count Raymond Berengar of Barcelona to Petronilla the heiress of Aragon.
1151 Dissolution of marriage between Louis VII and Elinor of Aquitaine.
1152 Marriage of Elinor to Henry Plantagenet of Anjou and Normandy, son of Empress Maud.
Conrad III dies. Election of Frederick I Barbarossa of Swabia and Hohenstaufen.

Chronicle XVIII

THE CLASH OF EAST AND WEST: 1073—1152

THE Seljuk Turks broke into Asia Minor and established themselves there by the victory of Manzikert (1071). The Sultan Alp Arslan was assassinated in 1072. The new Seljuk sultan, Malik Shah, left Asia Minor to his general, Sulayman, who captured Nicæa in 1073 and made it the capital of an independent kingdom of Roum (i. e. Rome), and obviously the center of a permanent menace to Constantinople. Other Seljuk generals were engaged in bringing Syria, which had long ignored Bagdad, into the Seljuk obedience. In 1076 Seljuk troops captured Jerusalem.

Reasons for First Crusade

THE Mahomedans with rare exceptions had respected the Christian feeling for the holy places in their hands and given protection to the pious pilgrims from the West who came to pay their devotions. But the Turks had no such reverence for the piety of the infidel. In the few years during which they lorded it in Palestine the pilgrims were subjected to perils and their faith to insults such as they had never experienced from the Arabs.

Before the Egyptian Fatimids seized their opportunity to recover possession of Jerusalem in 1098 the mischief was done. The astute emperor at Constantinople had been provided with that exciting appeal to religious sentiment which was just what he wanted to sting the West into activity. The astute pope—no aspersion on his sincerity is implied—standing forth as the champion of the Cross, would become by the mere fact the undisputed leader of Christendom in a fashion impossible for any lay potentate then living.

The result was the First Crusade, and from the first the rest followed. The tales of the pilgrims who had seen and suffered under the Turkish regime gave life to the idea that the Saracen was the enemy of the Cross, and that it was the duty of good Christians to redeem from his sway the soil made sacred by the footprints of the Redeemer; and the tales of the pilgrims were very thoroughly exploited not only by sincere religious enthusiasts, but by all who hoped to turn religious enthusiasm to account for the furtherance of their own interests or their own ambitions.

WHEN Pope Alexander II died in 1073, the duke of Normandy was undisputed king of England. The last English revolt against the alien dynasty had been suppressed. Beside him stood the able statesman-archbishop Lanfranc, and those two saw always eye to eye. The Church in England was being brought under the new ecclesiastical discipline; the king gave Lanfranc a very free hand and very large powers, knowing that he was far too wise to use them to the detriment of the crown's prerogative.

The Church was ruled mainly by Norman bishops and abbots, the country by Norman barons. But the barons were not the lords of provinces; their estates were dispersed over widely separate districts, and their vassals were the king's vassals; and they, with the great ecclesiastics, formed the Great Council of the realm which the king consulted when he thought fit. William could with perfect safety pass much more of his time in his Norman duchy than in his English kingdom. The duchy, when he died (1087), was to pass to his eldest son, Robert, the kingdom to the second son, William Rufus.

In France, William's overlord was the young king Philip "the Gross," dissolute, lethargic, crafty; having little enough control over his feudatories, but an immense capacity for turning their feuds to the advantage of the crown, and thus preparing the way for his successors to assert its power effectively.

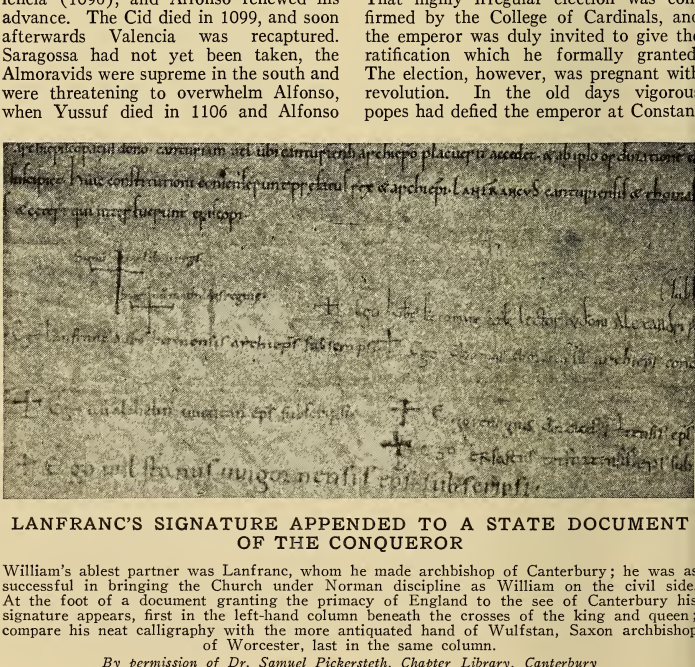
In Spain the Córdova khalifate had fallen early in the century. Moorish Spain was split into a number of emirates; Christian Spain, united for a time under Sancho the Great of Navarre, fell asunder on his death in 1035 into the four separate kingdoms of Navarre, Castile, Leon and Aragon on the upper Ebro, and the county of Barcelona (the Spanish March) be-

tween the Pyrenees and the lower Ebro. Christians warred with Moors, emirs with emirs, kings with kings, Saracen and Spaniard in occasional temporary combinations, till in 1072 Leon and Castile were again united under Alfonso VI, who in the year 1085 captured Toledo.

Meanwhile, across the strait the Almoravids, a sect composed mainly of Berber desert tribesmen, were establishing their supremacy among the African Moors. To their chief, Yussuf, the alarmed emirs in Spain appealed for aid. Yussuf came, inflicted an overwhelming defeat on Alfonso of Castile at Zallaca in 1086, and instead of returning to Africa established himself as emir of Andalusia. The disaster of Zallaca failed of its full effect, because the Moors fell to fighting among themselves; while Yussuf was mastering the other emirs, the Spanish Captain Ruy Diaz, the Cid Campeador, captured Valencia (1096), and Alfonso renewed his advance. The Cid died in 1099, and soon afterwards Valencia was recaptured. Saragossa had not yet been taken, the Almoravids were supreme in the south and were threatening to overwhelm Alfonso, when Yussuf died in 1106 and Alfonso two years later. Yussuf's death had saved him.

In Germany the long minority of Henry IV had dissolved most of the work done by his father in strengthening the imperial authority. That authority the self-willed and hot-tempered Henry intended to recover. All his confidence was given to his own Swabian countrymen to the intense disgust of the North Germans and more especially of the Saxons who regarded themselves as entitled to the hegemony of the German "nations," though at the time they were without a duke. In 1073 Henry found himself involved in a contest with the rebellious Saxons, in which he came very near defeat before he succeeded in forcing them to submission in 1075.

Now, when Pope Alexander died in 1073 the Roman populace acclaimed Archdeacon Hildebrand his successor. That highly irregular election was confirmed by the College of Cardinals, and the emperor was duly invited to give the ratification which he formally granted. The election, however, was pregnant with revolution. In the old days vigorous popes had defied the emperor at Constan-



LANFRANC'S SIGNATURE APPENDED TO A STATE DOCUMENT OF THE CONQUEROR

William's ablest partner was Lanfranc, whom he made archbishop of Canterbury; he was as successful in bringing the Church under Norman discipline as William on the civil side. At the foot of a document granting the primacy of England to the see of Canterbury his signature appears, first in the left-hand column beneath the crosses of the king and queen; compare his neat calligraphy with the more antiquated hand of Wulfstan, Saxon archbishop of Worcester, last in the same column.

By permission of Dr. Samuel Pickersteth, Chapter Library, Canterbury

tinople on questions of orthodoxy and ecclesiastical discipline; but since the time of Charlemagne every pope of distinction had been indebted for much of his power to the active support of a sympathetic emperor, who would nevertheless have made very short work of any attempt to control him in the exercise of any functions which he regarded as within his own sphere.

But now Gregory VII was about to assert the unprecedented claim that the temporal authority was subordinate to the spiritual, the emperor to the pope. His courage was infinite, his sincerity beyond all possible dispute. He was too single-hearted, too uncompromising, to be a diplomatist; he was as sure of his own mission as an Elijah or a Samuel; and he identified that mission, the regeneration of the Church and of the world, with the supreme office to which he had now himself been called. No impulse towards regeneration could be looked for from the princes whom he saw around him.

For five-and-twenty years pope after pope, generally with Hildebrand beside him, had striven to reform the besetting sins of the churchmen—self-seeking, worldliness, laxity. Early in 1075 Gregory at a synod in Rome issued, as they had issued, decrees against simony and clerical marriages, formally forbidden but habitually practiced; but to these was now added a decree uncompromisingly forbidding lay investiture and denouncing penalties on all who should accept or convey such investiture. Gregory's denunciation was not a mere protest; it was a declaration of war.

Henry IV, fresh from the victory which brought the Saxons to submission, took up the challenge. In January, 1076, supported by a synod of German bishops at Worms, he answered Gregory's denunciations by declaring that he was no longer pope, and ordered him to "Come down." Gregory responded with a synod at the Vatican in February, and a decree excommunicating and deposing Henry and releasing his subjects from obedience to him. The battle was joined.

But for Henry it was not merely a battle between Church and State. It was a fight for his own authority over his own lay vassals, who were fiercely suspicious of his aims and bent on yielding him no obedience which it was in their power to refuse. At a diet of the Empire in October the nobles and prelates not only refused him their support but required him to make submission and seek absolution from the pope before they would return to their obedience. The immediate result was the bitter humiliation of Canossa.

Papal Triumph at Canossa

HENRY had persuaded himself that submission would restore the lost loyalty of the Germans, and he dared not face the issue of war. Gregory was at the mountain stronghold of Canossa, in the northern Apennines, expecting an attack by the Lombards, and surrounded by an august company of eminent churchmen. Thither the despairing emperor betook himself almost unattended to throw himself on the mercy of his great antagonist. For four days he remained outside the gates in the snow, a suppliant clad in the scanty garb of the penitent. Gregory would give pardon only on terms of complete and abject submission. Even so, Henry was to be restored to his imperial dignity only after the pope had inquired into and passed judgment on sundry charges leveled against him by his German subjects; and if he were then restored he must obey the pope in all ecclesiastical matters.

The Lombards were disgusted by his craven submission; the Germans were so far from being conciliated that their diet proceeded to elect a new emperor, Rudolf duke of Swabia.

They had gone too far. Henry hastened back to Germany, to find there a vigorous reaction in his favor. It was one thing to overthrow him; it was quite another to set up Rudolf. Yet in 1080, when Henry had met with a severe defeat, Gregory again declared him excommunicated and deposed, and recognized Rudolf, in terms asserting the power of the Church to bind and to loose, to raise up and to cast down kings and emperors.

Once more Gregory's confidence of victory had carried him too far, bringing Henry a host of new supporters. An assembly of German and Lombard bishops and nobles proclaimed the deposition of Gregory, and elected an antipope, who took the name of Clement III. Rudolf was killed in a great battle near Lützen before the year was over, and it was

without haste or enthusiasm that his partisans elected Hermann of Luxemburg as rival emperor to Henry. It was now manifest that the serious enemy was the pope.

Reaction in Favor of the Emperor

INTO Italy, therefore, Henry carried the war. Rome with Gregory at the Vatican defied attack, though no external help was forthcoming even from the Normans, since Guiscard was more congenially occupied in invading Illyria. In 1083 Henry forced his way into the city. Gregory in the castle of S. Angelo still defied him, still demanded the unqualified submission of the enemy at his gate. Next year the emperor, after an expedition to Apulia, where the Normans were moving, returned with Clement to Rome, where the latter was enthroned as pope and crowned him emperor.

But the castle still held out; Robert Guiscard, at last fully alive to the danger to himself if Henry won a complete triumph, recrossed the Adriatic and marched on Rome at the head of a very miscellaneous force. Henry retreated; Robert forced his way into Rome, sacked it, working much havoc, and withdrew to the south. Gregory followed him from the desolated city, to which Clement returned, though he, too, retired ere long to Ravenna. The great pope, indomitable to the last, died soon after (May, 1085); defeated, as it seemed to the world. He knew that he had actually accomplished nothing, but that was not the thing that mattered: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile—and therefore my hope is great" are the words which have been attributed to him.

HENRY IV ABASED AT CANOSSA

In 1076 the Papacy for a brief moment triumphed over the Empire, when Henry IV abased himself before Gregory VII at Canossa. Canossa was in the domains of the countess Matilda, one of the pope's most ardent supporters, and this MS. shows the emperor kneeling before her.

Vatican Library, MS. Lat. 4922; photo Giraudon

For three years there was a chaos of faction fighting in Rome. The cardinals elected a new pope, Victor III, who hid himself in a monastery, where his life flickered out after a year. And then in March, 1088, the cardinals found the man who was to carry Gregory's work forward, the Frenchman Urban II.

It was not, however, in direct conflict with Henry that Urban won his triumph.

For a time North Italy remained a cockpit in which Henry alternately won and lost the mastery and his rebel son Conrad disputed with him the crown of Lombardy, while Clement's partisans dominated Rome from the castle of S. Angelo and the antipope himself remained in the security of Ravenna. It was not till 1094-5 that Henry was so hard pressed that Urban could set forth safely on that northern progress which culminated in the Congress of Clermont, the real climax of Urban's career. Not from

Italy but from another quarter had come the great opportunity which he seized.

SINCE Manzikert the Greek Empire had been in very low water. But in 1081 the able general Alexius Comnenus removed Nicephorus and assumed the diadem, which remained in his family for a century.

Alexius was a skillful soldier, a capable administrator and an astute diplomatist, who had to make the best of bad materials. The best troops in his service were the Varangian guard, mostly composed of Swedes, Russians and miscellaneous Viking adventurers, recently recruited from Englishmen who preferred the wages of the emperor to subjection to the Normans. The old Isaurian recruiting ground had passed under the sway of the Turk. The population over which he ruled was inert. Nicæa, the capital of Roum, was ominously near to the Bosporus. And the moment of his accession was also the moment chosen by Guiscard for his attack on Illyria. To the Norman, a zealous papalist, the heretic empire was a tempting and legitimate prey.

Robert and his elder son, Bohemund, were soon in Macedonia, where the latter remained when his father hurried back to Italy to the rescue of Gregory in 1084. But Alexius saved himself from disaster by a crafty and competent strategy; Bohemund, too, returned to Italy on his father's death to secure himself in the possession at least of his county of Otranto; and for the time Alexius was relieved from the Norman peril which had threatened him.

NICEPHORUS III THE USURPER

Nicephorus III Botaniates usurped the throne of the Eastern Empire from Michael Ducas in 1078. His efforts to expel the Turks from Asia Minor, with the help of his general Alexius Comnenus, were ineffectual; and in private he had a reputation for debauchery. He is here seen with his empress Maria.

MS. of Homilies of S. John Chrysostom, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

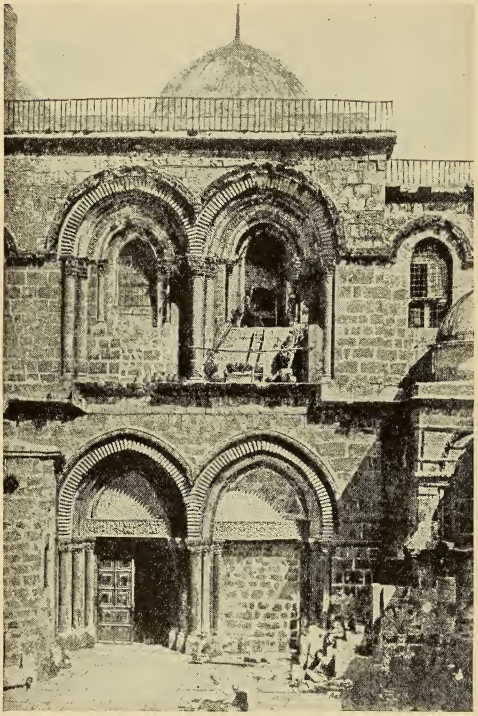
Alexius Appeals for Help to Urban

THE death of Malik Shah in 1092 encouraged him, still relying on the emotional aspects of Turkish misrule in the Holy Land, to appeal to Pope Urban in 1095.

Urban had gathered at Piacenza a great assembly of which the first business was to denounce the sins of Henry and once more to proclaim the disciplinary decrees against simony and marriage of clerics. There was an emotional atmosphere in which the words of Alexius' envoys took deep effect; but Urban did not yet give himself rein. He moved north to Burgundy, and meanwhile the seeds were being sown.

Urban Launches the First Crusade

In November a vast concourse was gathered at Clermont. To that concourse the Pope issued his passionate appeal to Christian men to lay aside their private quarrels and discords and unite for the redemption of the Holy Sepulcher from the hands of the infidels; the multitude was swept away on the torrent or irresistible emotion, and answered with one universal cry, "It is the will of God." Urban had launched the First Crusade.



CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

As long as the Mahomedans allowed access to the holy places in Palestine, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, there was no incentive to a crusade. This they did until the rise of the Turks, whose repressive measures gave Alexius the argument he needed to move Pope Urban II.

Essentially the appeal was not to political interests but to religious emotion; necessarily it sought and found its response not from governments and rulers as such, but from voluntary individual action. Leadership in such a movement was entirely impossible for any of the greatest princes—the excommunicate emperor Henry, who was popularly regarded as a monster of iniquity, the excommunicate king of France, or the tyrant William Rufus who was ruling in England. No monarch as yet took part in organizing the movement whose impulse proceeded quite definitely from the pope, was most zealously fostered by the clergy, and permeated all social ranks.

The small men joined the standards of the great nobles who took the Cross; Robert of Normandy, who trustfully mortgaged his dukedom to his royal brother of England in order to raise the necessary funds—dull of wit but a mighty man of his hands; Raymond of Toulouse; Godfrey, duke of Lower Lorraine and Bouillon, commonly but erroneously known as count of Boulogne; Bohemund of Otranto and others, men of mark and practiced in war. While they were making efficient preparation, the ill directed zeal of the pilgrim Peter the Hermit and a knight known as Walter the Penniless led a rabble of enthusiasts on a wild expedition which got itself across the Bosporus and was dissipated, cut to pieces or carried into slavery by Kilij Arslan, the sultan of Roum.

A year after the Congress of Clermont the real crusading host was swarming

to its appointed meeting-place, Constantinople. Alexius had overreached himself. Hoping to raise in the West a force of warriors whose services would enable him to recover Asia Minor, he had called in a mighty host which cared not at all for his empire and seemed not unlikely to begin its operations by dismembering what was left of it. But his diplomatic skill was equal to the occasion. In the spring of 1097 he had passed them all safely over the Bosporus, with no intention of facilitating their return, their leaders pledged to fealty while within the theoretical borders of the Empire, of which the provinces, when reconquered, were to be restored to him.

The crusaders laid siege to Nicæa, which surrendered in June. A great victory at Dorylæum drove Kilij Arslan east in a skillful retreat in which he cleared the country of provisions before the invaders. But he could not stem their advance. Asia Minor was won. The crusaders made their way through the Taurus. Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, hastened to the aid of Edessa, in upper Mesopotamia, which was held by Christian Armenians, and established himself there as its prince. In October the main army laid siege to Antioch, which stubbornly defied their attack till the following June. Even then it was only treachery within the walls that gave Bohemund the entry, which was turned to account by a savage massacre.

ARMOR SUCH AS THE CRUSADERS WORE

The equipment of twelfth-century warriors, such as those who streamed to and fro between Europe and Palestine after the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 and the formation of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, is well shown in this illustration of a siege, where the attackers are setting fire to the houses.

MS. of Herrade de Landsberg; photo, Hachette

Fall of Jerusalem to the Crusaders

It was not till the next spring, however, that the main army advanced on Jerusalem, leaving Bohemund in possession of Antioch (1099). In July, in a grand assault, Jerusalem was taken by storm, the capture being accompanied by another terrible massacre. Once more the banner of the Cross floated over the Holy City.

In effect what had been accomplished was the recovery of a large part of Asia Minor, but by no means the whole of it, for the Greek Empire; and of Syria, the coastal strip from the Taurus to Jaffa, with a section of north Mesopotamia, by and for a group of adventurers under no single chief, whose leaders were great feudal nobles at home, but owed allegiance to no man in respect of the lands they had conquered. The adventurers, that is, were in military occupation of a wide area in which they could never be anything more than a garrison, since there was no prospect of attracting to it a great body of permanent European colonists, and their conquest could be retained only by force of arms against attacks which would become exceedingly formidable if those enemies whose mutual antagonisms had made the conquest possible should unite.

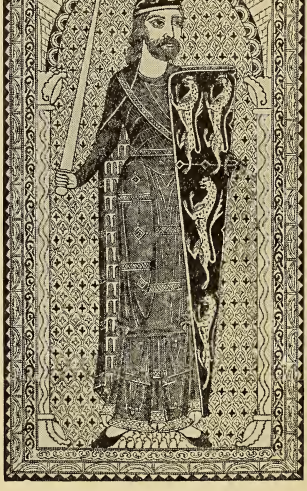
For the garrisons the adventurers themselves could provide only a nucleus; for the rest they must rely on the irregular stream of temporary volunteers from the West, a stream more or less insured by the exceptional character of the motive that had inspired the conquest.

Such then was the basis on which the conquerors had to organize their conquest when completed. Orthodox feudal theory required an official suzerain for

the kingdom of Jerusalem, to whom the rest would owe allegiance much as Robert or Raymond owed allegiance to their own suzerain in the West. Godfrey was the first king, though he refused the royal title, since he would not wear the golden circle where the Saviour had worn the crown of thorns. He would only call himself count. Bohemund remained prince of Antioch, Baldwin count of Edessa; the conquest of Tripolis between Antioch and Palestine provided another county for Raymond; each county had its baronies. When Godfrey died in 1100, Baldwin succeeded him and was the first titular king of Jerusalem.

The "Latin Kingdom" thus covered the whole of what had been known in ancient days as Palestine and Phœnicia; with Antioch, extending north across the Euphrates to Edessa. The kingdom had not grown up, but was an artificial structure deliberately modeled on the theory and practice of feudalism as understood in Western Europe, and consequently it provided the most typical example of the feudal policy or constitution, as regards both its organization and its methods.

The whole Latin Kingdom, though its length from Edessa to Jaffa and Askelon was great, was none the less but a narrow strip from which no substantial eastward advance was made. Its Mediterranean ports were acquired only by degrees, and by the aid of the maritime cities of Italy which sought and found a rich commercial harvest by establishing their communities therein.



FIRST OF THE PLANTAGENETS

Geoffrey of Anjou, known as Plantagenet from his habit of wearing broom (planta genista) in his cap, was father of Henry II of England (1133-89)

Le Mans Museum

The organization of the kingdom was mainly the work of Baldwin I (1100-1118), who left his cousin, afterwards Baldwin II, at Edessa. The kingdom held its own till 1144 when disaster began.

We saw that on the death of Malik Shah the Seljuk power disintegrated. The enemies against whom the crusading hosts had had to fight their way were the minor sultans of Roum and Mosul, and the Egyptian Fatimids in Palestine itself. Now, in 1127 the Turk Zangi became lord or atabeg of Mosul. In 1144 Zangi captured the great northern fortress. The massacre at Jerusalem was requited in kind—and in full measure. Two years later Zangi died and was succeeded by the very able Nour ed-Din. The fall of Edessa was the first great shock experienced by the Latin Kingdom.

Meanwhile in the West the struggle between Papacy and Empire, temporal and spiritual authority, Church and State, had passed through its first phase. Urban died a fortnight after the fall of Jerusalem, the triumphant climax of the crusade which he had launched, himself unquestionably the supreme figure in Christendom. His successor, Paschal II (1099-1118), would make no concessions to the unfortunate Henry, who was helpless so long as he lay under the papal anathema.

Relations of Henry V with Pope Paschal

PASCHAL remained deaf to Henry's overtures, and in 1104 his son Henry, who never allowed scruples of

honor or generosity to stand in the way of what he took to be his interests, called the ever rebellious Saxony to arms against his father. The emperor lost hope and spirit and threw himself on the mercy of the young king, who was not ashamed to entreat his forgiveness and then shut him up and compel him to abdicate. Henry IV escaped, but died in 1106, denied the papal absolution to the last.

But Henry V (1106-1125) had no intention of surrendering any imperial claims. In 1110 he descended on Italy with an army behind him. Paschal discovered that there was no quarter from which he could count upon armed support, and, in effect, surrendered. The Church would yield her temporal estates but not her exclusive right of ecclesiastical appointment and investiture.

The offer was correctly interpreted as an act of sheer pusillanimity. It was accepted as a matter of course by Henry, but when he presented himself for coronation as emperor at S. Peter's the ceremony was stopped by a scene of furious tumult. Henry retired with the pope a prisoner in his hands; Paschal gave way altogether, conceding even the investitures; and the coronation was carried through (1111).

Paschal might give way, but he could not take the churchmen with him; they unanimously repudiated the compact. All the forces that had been operated against Henry IV in the same quarrel were now brought to bear against Henry V, while the clergy were solid instead of being divided. The Empire was in a ferment of plots and revolts. In 1118 Paschal died; a new pope was elected; Henry set up an antipope of his own; the new pope died, and the cardinals elected a Burgundian prelate experienced in statecraft, Calixtus II (1119).

Solutions of the Investiture Question

In England a practical solution of the investiture problem had been reached some years before by the wisdom of the saintly archbishop Anselm and the shrewdness of the particularly hardheaded king, the Conqueror's youngest son, Henry I. The crown could propose a candidate for ecclesiastical office and veto an unsuitable candidate, but otherwise the election was to be free; on the other hand, the elected candidate must do homage for his temporalities like any lay baron, but must not be invested with the spiritual office and its symbols by a layman. The Church could not force a candidate on the crown nor the crown on the Church, and neither the spiritual nor the temporal power encroached on the functions of the other.

Calixtus obtained a similar compromise by the Concordat of Worms (1122), virtually a repetition of the English settlement. Within three years both pope and emperor were dead; at Worms the investiture conflict was buried. But it had been only one phase of a wider one, which was by no means ended.

Struggle for Reform within the Church

The conflict between the spiritual and temporal power was, in fact, the political aspect of what was in its initiation a religious movement as zealously supported by the greatest princes from Otto the Great to Henry III as by the great churchmen. The reform of the Church itself, the development of its influence in Christianizing a world professedly Christian but very far from Christian in its normal activities, was the aim of the Cluniac reformers and of the popes from Leo IX to Alexander II. That motive was no less strong in Hildebrand, but with him it led to the conclusion that the kingdom of God would never be established on earth by laymen dominating the Church but only by the Church dominating the layman.

To dominate the laymen the actual possession of the temporal power was necessary, and hence developed the conflict between Church and State. But the pure religious enthusiasm was constantly finding expression in movements of the same type as that of Cluny, the founding and development of religious orders bound to an ideal rule of life. If Cluny itself had somewhat fallen away, its place as a spiritual power was more than taken by the recently founded Cistercian order and, above all, by the monastery of Clairvaux and its great abbot Bernard.

The Papacy and Roger of Sicily

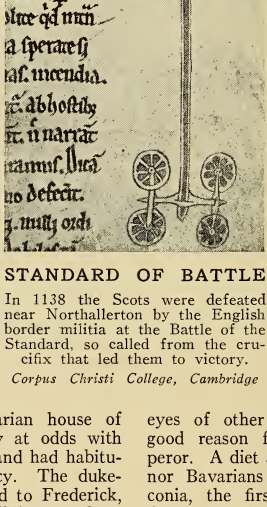
Calixtus, a pope whose all too brief reign had shown how much could yet be done by a man who was both strong and wise, was followed by Honorius II, whose legal acumen had been invaluable in the work of shaping the Concordat of Worms but did not suf-

fice to make him a competent leader. His main difficulties were with the third of the Rogers, Roger II of Sicily, who resolved to unite his own county with Apulia.

Both Apulia and Sicily had originally been granted to Robert Guiscard as fiefs held from the pope by Nicholas II. Roger effected his object (1127), and with very small regard for his papal suzerain proceeded to absorb the remaining minor principalities of South Italy. Honorius strove vainly to form a league against him, but was compelled to recognize Roger's claims.

On the death of Honorius in 1130 his successor, regularly elected, was Anacletus, a candidate so offensive to the advanced party that they elected Innocent II in opposition. The contest between pope and antipope continued for eight years, during which Anacletus bought Roger's support by the title of "king" of Sicily, which Innocent—the ultimate victor in the strife—was finally forced to recognize.

The death of Henry V without a direct heir in 1125 may be regarded as the beginning of another rivalry, between two great German houses, which was fraught with future strife. The Bavarian house of Welf had been commonly at odds with a succession of emperors and had habitually sided with the Papacy. The dukedom of Swabia had passed to Frederick, of Hohenstaufen and Weiblingen, whose wife was the sister and his sons the nephews of Henry V. Those sons, Frederick and Conrad, were now respectively dukes of Swabia and Franconia. Henry had destined one or other of his nephews to be his successor, but the combination of Bavaria with Saxony gave the imperial crown to the old and able duke of Saxony, Lothair II (1125-37).



STANDARD OF BATTLE

In 1138 the Scots were defeated near Northallerton by the English border militia at the Battle of the Standard, so called from the crucifix that led them to victory.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

Origin of Guelphs and Ghibellines

THE matrimonial complications are not without interest. Henry the Black of Bavaria, who died next year, was the father-in-law of Frederick, but his son, Henry the Proud became the son-in-law of Lothair. Ultimately the Welf Henry the Lion became duke of both Bavaria and Saxony, when Frederick of Hohenstaufen or Weiblingen, was seated on the imperial throne as Frederick I. From the names Welf and Weiblingen derive the Guelph and Ghibelline, which later became the party labels of certain Italian factions, these originating as Welf papalists and Hohenstaufen or Weiblingen imperialists.

Lothair's seizure of some of Frederick's lands brought on a civil war, in which Conrad of Franconia was set up as a rival German king; but in 1135 the Hohenstaufen gave way and general peace was established, the old emperor—who was then past seventy—being too politic to be vindictive.

Henry the Proud, duke of Bavaria and also of Saxony and lord of great possessions in Tuscany, aspired to the succession; but his power as a prince was, in the eyes of other German princes, a very good reason for not making him emperor. A diet attended by neither Saxons nor Bavarians elected Conrad of Franconia, the first Hohenstaufen emperor. As was to be expected, the immediate result was civil war, which was not ended by Henry's death in 1139, his duchies having been officially forfeited while refusing to acknowledge their new dukes. A peace, however, was presently patched up by the reinstatement of the boy Henry (the Lion) in the Saxon duchy. The peace had not long been established when the West was startled by the

ominous news of the fall of Edessa, the outer bulwark of Christendom in Asia.

England and Scotland in Norman Times

ENGLAND during the first half of the twelfth century was passing through the best and also the worst periods of the Norman rule. William I had reigned in the capacity of a conqueror who had to establish his domination over the conquered English and also over the new baronage, Norman, French, Breton or Fleming, with whom he had to share the spoil. William II, a soldier hardly inferior to his father, reigned as a tyrant by the might of his arm. Henry I (1100-1135) won the name of the Lion of Justice not because he cared in the least for justice in the abstract, but because he saw the way to power in enforcing stern justice whenever it did not collide with his own interest, and it paid him better to rule a well ordered than an orderless state.

But when Henry died, leaving a daughter, who was married to Geoffrey of Anjou (her first husband had been the emperor Henry V), but no son, his nephew Stephen of Blois captured the crown, and there followed a period of appalling misrule or no-rule while his adherents and those of his cousin the "Empress Maud" fought each other up and down the country, robbing and pillaging; so that men cried out that "Christ and his saints slept," and the only power which sought to uphold some standard of justice and decency was the Church.

The period, on the other hand, was one of very marked progress in the northern kingdom of Scotland. Malcolm III, after ridding himself of Macbeth, had established himself on the throne with no rival. He kept or broke the peace with the Normans as occasion suggested, and found it advisable to pay some sort of homage to both the Williams; but whether it was for his crown or only for estates held by him in the north of England is a question quite impossible of certain solution. But no Scots king after him, except his son Edgar, admitted an English king's title to overlordship.

More than any of his predecessors, however, he did deliberately Anglicize the Lowlands under the influence of his wife Margaret, a princess of the old English royal family; from which two results followed: the Latin Church finally predominated over the Celtic Church in Scotland as well as in England, and, through the marriage of his daughter to Henry I of England, the blood of the house of Alfred has flowed in the veins of every king or queen regnant thereafter in England or Scotland until this day.

Malcolm was killed on an English foray in 1093, when his brother Donalbane usurped the throne, to be ejected later by Malcolm's sons, three of whom reigned in succession. The third, David I (1124-53), played an active part in England as a feudatory in respect of English earldoms, and on behalf of his niece the Empress Maud. His reign confirmed what might be called a perpetual alliance between the crown and the Church in Scotland as against the feudal nobility, but it also gave the nobility its special brand of feudalism by the bestowal of many fiefs upon Normans who were also feudatories of the king of England.

In France the power of the monarchy grew under the successors of Philip I. They followed a policy of patient and cautious persistence that bore steady fruit. Louis VI "the Fat" (1108-37) allied the crown with the Church by being always ready to pose or act as the champion of the oppressed, especially of oppressed clerics, against tyrannical barons; he chose men as his counsellors not because they were powerful but because they were useful, herein following the example of his shrewd and troublesome vassal Henry I of Normandy and England; he skillfully fostered the feuds of the vassals themselves, and not infrequently reaped material profit thereby; and when he died his son Louis VII (1137-80) continued the same policy of alliance with the Church and the undermining of the powers of the nobles.

But one most promising step which Louis VII took proved in the end to be most disastrous. While he was crown prince, he married Eleanor, the youthful heiress of Aquitaine, who brought with her wider territories than were under the sway of any other French feudatory; but within a short time they quarreled so seriously that the marriage was dissolved, on the ground of consanguinity, and the insulted Eleanor was promptly united to Henry count of Anjou, duke of Normandy and heir to the throne of England; who

thereby became duke of Aquitaine also, and lord of more than another quarter of France.

WHILE the Latin Kingdom was holding its own in Syria, the Christian states were again advancing in Spain, where the conflict was taking increasingly the character of a war between the religions. Such would, in any case, have been the inevitable effect of the crusades in the East, which had stirred the spirit of fanaticism in Christians and Moslems alike, as it had not been stirred in the earlier conflicts. But to this was added the fact that the Berber Almoravids were very much more intolerant than the long-established Moors of Spain, and their harsh treatment of their "Mozarabic" (i.e. Christian) subjects affected popular sentiment much as had the violence of the Turks in Palestine. The Spaniards were looked upon and regarded themselves as crusaders, and other crusaders bound for Palestine considered that campaigning in Spain en route was a partial fulfilment at least of their crusading vows. Saracens were the enemies of the Cross, whether in Spain or in Syria, or in any other part of the world.

We saw the advance of Alfonso VI of Castile checked by the appearance of the Almoravid Yussuf. For the next few years internal dissensions among Christians on one side and Saracens on the other prevented any material advance of either. But in 1118 Alfonso I of Aragon captured Saragossa, and before his death in 1134 raised Aragon to a foremost place among the kingdoms, which it had not hitherto achieved.

His work in the east of the peninsula was carried on by Raymond Berengar, count of Barcelona, who later united Aragon with Catalonia by marrying Alfonso's daughter Petronilla. On the western side Alfonso count of Portugal converted his little county into the kingdom of Portugal, between 1139 and 1148, by conquering the country as far as Lisbon; and in 1149 Sancho IX of Castile signalized the capture of Calatrava by setting up there a Cistercian monastery. This great advance was facilitated by the rise in Morocco of a new and still more fanatical Berber sect which, having there won the mastery, invaded Spain in 1145. The four years during which the Almohades were overturning the Almoravids were the opportunity of the Spaniards.

Events in the Eastern Empire

MEANWHILE there had been no co-operation between the Eastern Empire and the Latin Crusaders. From their first appearance at Constantinople, Alexius had realized that he had very little to hope and much to fear from them; he had done far more to thwart than to help them; and after his death in 1118 his successor John had seen no reason to change an attitude which was fully reciprocated by the Latins, or "Franks," as the East called them and calls the Europeans to this day.

John (1118-43) was an able and just ruler who gave to the Empire peace at home and was usually successful in such wars as he found it necessary to wage abroad, but he sought no reconciliation with the Franks.

Fate of the Second Crusade

THE fall of Edessa startled the West and raised to white heat the crusading ardor of Bernard of Clairvaux, whose appeals for a new crusade rang through Christendom. Several expeditions of a considerable scale had set forth since the First Crusade, but all such had collapsed with varying degrees of ignominy. A mighty effort was now called for. Louis VII of France, already bent on taking the Cross to expiate a catastrophe for which he felt that he had been responsible, answered the appeal. With less enthusiasm the emperor Conrad III was persuaded to follow Louis' example.

Yet the fate of that so-called Second Crusade was the fate of its predecessors. It was headed by two of the three most powerful monarchs of the West (for Roger of Sicily had in hand the separate business of conquering Saracens in Africa). It met with nothing but disaster. Conrad was first in the field. With a pretense of aid from his brother-emperor Manuel (1143-80), John's successor at Constantinople, he passed into Asia Minor in 1146 with a mighty host; Louis followed next year, but was joined at Nicæa by Conrad with only the remnant of his army, which had been cut to pieces. The crusaders tried a new route to the south coast; of those who reached it only a few were able to embark for Syria; the rest

perished miserably. The small band remaining flung itself on Damascus, and would seem to have been on the point of taking it, when the leaders were tricked by treasonable counsels into changing their plan of attack, whereby failure became inevitable; and first Conrad and then Louis went home with the followers that were left to them (1149).

In 1152 Conrad died; and the choice of the imperial electors fell upon his nephew Frederick Barbarossa.

PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE GULF OF SALERNO

Salerno, first colonized by the Romans in 194 B.C., was a virtually independent principality under Langobard rule when it was taken by Robert Guiscard in the mid-eleventh century and made part of the Norman dukedom of Apulia. In 1127 it passed into the hands of Guiscard's nephew, Roger II of Sicily, who consolidated the Norman dominions of Sicily and South Italy. The medical school of Salerno was world-famous throughout the Middle Ages, and was only closed in 1817.

Photo, E.N.A.

SERFDOM AND FEUDALISM

THE STRUCTURE OF MEDIEVAL SOCIETY UNDER THE REGIME THAT TYPIFIED THE FEUDAL AGE

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THE Feudal Age is not sharply separated from earlier and later phases of history by any such clear division as the accession of a dynasty, a great battle, invasion or conquest. It is a stage in the growth of society, and as such is slowly ushered in and very slowly departs.

Few aspects of history have required a greater body of literature for their explanation, and on few subjects have such divergent opinions been expressed. It may be suggested, however, as broadly true that the feudal relation is the expression of an attempt forced upon society to find a substitute for central government; to obtain some measure of what all the world has sought since the beginning of history, and has gained at painful cost—security. The need and the attempt do not arise simultaneously in all places, so that the feudalism of Spain, England, Sicily, Japan, with broad general resemblance, shows much diversity in detail.

Further, humanity invents with difficulty, and is prone to adapt and modify what lies to hand. The feudal world did this, and adapted existing forms and institutions to new circumstances.

Finally, the feudal world enfolds economic and social groupings which are older than itself. If we separate out for examination two of these we shall have entered at once upon a description of feudalism as a working institution, for they are the bottom and middle layers of the three which go to make up the feudal world; and the first is the village community.

IT is of cardinal importance to realize that in spite of the splendor and interest of towns and craft guilds, pilgrimages and Crusades, cathedrals and abbeys, medieval society drew its life blood from the soil and the bulk of its population was a peasantry.

Now, a basic element of the setting in which this peasantry worked was contributed by the enduring traces of an early and widespread phase in the development of society to which the term "village community" is usually applied. Neglecting here the matter of its origins and confining ourselves to those of its features which lasted into the Middle Ages, we may say that it was a rural group which applied itself to the cultivation of the soil by a method which involved common consent and co-operation. Its ploughland lay in large unhedged stretches of hundreds of acres, and in place of the modern rotation of crops and extensive use of manures there was employed the method of alternate fallow and cultivation; for this purpose the great stretch of arable was usually divided into three sections, or "fields," one of which was at a given moment left resting or fallow.

Moreover, though there was common ploughing, there was not, in historic times, common ownership of the soil and of its produce. Each villager's land lay not in an undivided farm, but in strips of an acre or half-acre or thereabouts scattered in the open fields, perhaps as the result of some early distribution designed to give rough equality in productiveness of soil.

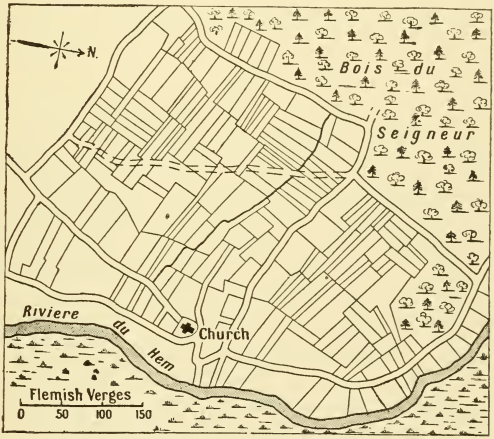
THE second element is the domain. In the year A.D. 615 Bertrannus, bishop of Le Mans, made his will and therein enumerated his possessions, which included no fewer than eighty "villas," or villages, lying in widely separated parts of Gaul. The document gives us our second great formula in that it is exactly typical of the very numerous documents which survive for the period A.D. 450-750 in indicating the ownership by one individual of a dozen, a score, a hundred, of what we now term villages. The deduction we wish to impress is that the period of Frankish rule in Europe is emphatically

one of the predominance of the great proprietor and of great properties.

Such a phenomenon was not new, and nine-tenths of French villages today bear names derived from those of ancient Roman proprietors. Nor need we search deep for its causes; one point is amply clear, namely, that the village was as a rule in the possession of a proprietor, a "dominus" or "lord," and a domainal system had been superimposed on the debris of older systems.

This domain presents characteristic features which are to be handed on to the feudal age. First, the cultivated land is divided into two main sections: one of these is reserved for the direct profit of the lord; the other is the land granted out in return for services of ploughing and reaping on the lord's reserve. This division is not necessarily a physical one, and the lord's arable may lie interspersed with the trips of his dependants in the open fields. The typical formula runs: "A has ten measures; he ploughs three"—that is, A has had granted him the use of ten measures of land and in payment for its use ploughs three measures of the lord's land at the appropriate time. There are other payments exacted, but this labor rent is one of the basic fundamentals of the system.

Next, as to the inhabitants of the domain, we may lay down that they are in varying degrees of dependence on the lord: some are "serfs"; others approach the state of free farmers; but, generally, they may be described as closely bound and subject to the dominus. Again, we have an important anticipation of feudal days in the fact that this dominus in many ways stands between the inhabitants of his domain and such government as exists at the center. He is using powers of taxation, of jurisdiction. Add to these facts the continuance of the movement already strong under the late Roman Empire towards a local economy, towards the establishment of small groups, self-sufficing for all needs of food and equipment, and we are well on the way to the feudal age before there has been any word of the feudal relation.



LAND DIVISION UNDER FEUDALISM

In the feudal age the land of the village was still divided up into numerous narrow strips that survived long after the age that produced them, as shown by this eighteenth-century plan of part of Ruminghem in Artois. Note how the lord's wood surrounds the ploughland.

Archives du Département du Pas de Calais

Four main causes produced the feudal world. Most important is that general tendency to "localism," to an inherent leaning away from the acceptance of settled central authority, which must be taken as characteristic of European society during the age of the fall of the Empire and the irruption into it of alien barbarian elements. Next comes the governmental system prematurely developed by the Carolingians, under which a world of these deep-rooted tendencies was organized so as to present the outward appearance of a centralized state.

Add the removal of the strong hand of Charlemagne and the speedy loosening of central control which followed, and, fi-

nally, the invasions of Normans, Wends and Saracens which burst upon the West in the ninth and tenth centuries and which were made by peoples whose own habits were in the direction of local grouping round a chieftain. The sum of the causes enumerated explains the appearance of the feudal age.

LOOKING next to the finished product, we see in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the main fact that central government has virtually disappeared, and that there has been a regrouping of allegiance round the local potentate, the founder of one of the great feudal families which, as a rule, traced their pedigree to the tenth century. With the possession of land goes the right to exercise powers of government over its inhabitants. Property and authority are now blended, and a relation of lord to vassal with mutual and reciprocal obligations has become the instrument by which are carried out the functions of government and protection as we know them. Something intermediate between no rule and central rule has come into existence.

One formidable difficulty for the modern student lies in the conception of a world in which local government *was* government—all the government there was; for "local" to us denotes something distinct from, and subordinate to, central government by the state. Again, it must be emphasized that the terms "feudal system" and "feudal institutions" are misleading when applied to the formative period. The men who were grouping themselves in local knots for protection were not formulating theories or being intentionally systematic. In that state of flux society was too busy to pause and analyze itself; it was as unconscious of itself and of theory thereon as the first bearers of coats of arms were of the heraldic science of a later, more leisured age.

Here we may dismiss the numerous difficulties arising out of the voluminous discussions as to what may be called the formal origins of the clothing in which the feudal relations were dressed. We may safely say that there existed, before feudalism, certain legal forms in which relations of personal dependence were expressed by Romans, Celts, Germans, along with certain methods of holding land on conditions, but the feudal world and its origins really explain themselves without these, and we need not confuse the origins of the form of an oath with the necessities which produced the feudal regime.

A FINAL difficulty cannot be shirked. Feudal society in its "classic" form presents the appearance of a social pyramid with king or emperor as apex, and below him in descending scale the greater vassals, the lesser vassals, and so on, down to the smaller nobles. Such a structure looks as if it had come into existence from above downwards, whereas we have to accept the confusing fact that this feudal structure came into shape more or less simultaneously at all its levels, and that gaps in the chain connecting king with lowest noble were filled in when the general conception of the feudal relation, that every man must have a lord, came to be accepted. If a metaphor can be used, it might be that of the tree of which trunk, branches, twigs and leaves appear at the same time; or we may say that the steps of the feudal ladder were formed as disjointed pieces and were by a series of later developments joined up into a coherent whole.

We have now lifted out for separate examination the three main "layers" of the feudal world—remains of village community, the legacy of the domainal system the conditions of the formative period of feudalism. With these in mind, we can look more closely at the feudal society in being.

Certain negative propositions will take us some steps towards our closer view. There were absent from the feudal age the closely knit state with nerves of communication reaching to every district and every individual; the modern nation and nationality and all the background of common speech, literature, tradition, achievement that goes with it; that ultimate expression of the modern world, the national army, the nation under arms. Again there was not modern wealth and accumulated capital by which the worst effects of pestilence and famine might be averted and those of great wars minimized; by contrast, there was not the power of destruction achieved by later civilizations.

Speaking positively, we may say that there was a world of which the keynote was an intense localism, a diversity of custom and practice which the mediaeval mind could accept calmly, but which to us is bewildering. The travelling merchant buying cloth at so much an ell must ask what "ell" is meant, and how many inches there are in it, and even in what kind of money the price is quoted. A man selling a parcel of vegetables or sack of corn must tell the buyer what measure he is using, for there was infinite variety from place to place in capacity measures. We read that a peasant has fifty measures of land, and must ascertain with which perch the land has been measured, for in Artois alone there were acres of at least fifty different sizes, and the traveller in the Belgian lands among 150 villages would meet 80 different lengths of the pole, perch or rod.

A crime is committed; whose business is it to arrest the criminal? It depends on where the crime is committed. On this side of the road the count has jurisdiction, and on that the bishop; in one street the burgesses of the town have the right to arrest and try, in the next the king's sergeants are concerned. It may make a difference whether the crime was committed by day or by night, in the house or outside. It is more important to decide on whose gallows a man shall hang, who shall have the right to his confiscated property, than that he *should* hang.

A typical baron holds land of a lord to whom he is bound by oath to render military service and attendance at the court at which cases between vassals are tried. In theory the land he holds can be taken back by his lord; in practice it reverts only for breach of the feudal oath, or at failure of heirs; but the theory is represented by such payments as that of the "relief" at each new succession—the "death duty" of the time. We need not make of the inferior noble too important or dignified a figure, for a process of feudal "morcellement" went on and one village might include a score of fiefs. The baron may hold parts of his lands from different lords and on different conditions; hence an extraordinary interlacing of rights, claims, jurisdictions.

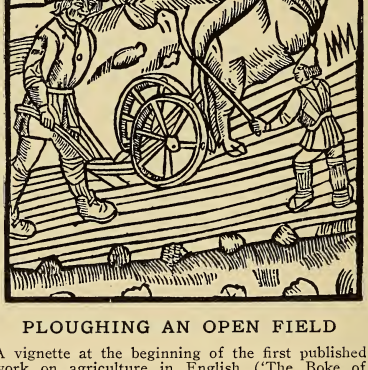
The baron's house is his castle, and necessarily so, for he has no government

TILTING FOR THE VERDICT

The typical baron's interests were chiefly martial, whether in war itself or in its various modifications such as judicial combat. Here two such means of settling a dispute are taking place in the lists before a king, with the corpses of earlier losers in a pile behind; (from a fifteenth-century MS. of Christine de Pisan's 'Livre des faitz d'armes, et de chevalerie).'

Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels

to which to appeal for redress, and his overlord may be occupied elsewhere. Unfortunately, his house-fortress, once a rallying point and shelter, remained as a center of resistance to the growth of public order, an opportunity for tyranny and a refuge for the robber baron. The household of the greater baron deserves more than passing notice, for it is one of the most significant things in history; it is the core of constitutional history, the origin of many modern institutions, the forerunner and ancestor in direct line of Whitehall and the government offices of half the world. One great feudal person, by name Capet, made and acquired France, and his domestic officers became national and state officers; another such feudal lord made England into a state, and the parliamentary and other institutions which were originated in his household have been handed on to the rest of the world, and still Imperial Parliament meets in "our Palace of Westminster" to rule over Great Britain.



PLOUGHING AN OPEN FIELD

A vignette at the beginning of the first published work on agriculture in English ('The Boke of Husbondrye,') 1525, shows a peasant and his lad ploughing an open field with a yoke of oxen.

A well-known list of the fifteen pleasures of the feudal baron includes chess and listening to minstrels among his more intellectual pursuits, but it may be said that he was not in reality far removed from the serf on the intellectual side. The two laughed at the same things, and the fact is important. The theology and philosophy of an era give us a view of its rarer minds, but the rank and file of Mankind are seen better through another medium—that of the *fabliaux*, the mysteries, the songs. The harlequinade of the pantomime represents medieval humor and the large sums spent by great nobles in setting up elaborate booby traps in their castles are of not a little significance.

In the baron's favor it may be said that he was not, for many generations of his existence, a social parasite, and when he became one it was because his duties were taken from him by changing conditions, while he was left with his tastes and privileges. He was a soldier turned statesman and attempting to run a political and administrative machine; he was the product of war and confusion, and as these became less the normal state of things he became a dangerous anachronism. He was, at least, never a pretence, did not sit at home at ease; risked his skin on the smallest excuse, and was no more violent and brutal than the rest of his world. The town to which he gave a charter was as feudal and as foreign to modern ideas as he was. It set him no example of moderation or dislike for war, for its inhabitants would fare forth with great good will to destroy the looms of a neighboring town which presumed to make cloth of the same width as theirs.

Now, the feudal nobility formed but a small percentage of the whole society, of which the bulk is composed of the later representatives of the subordinate population which we met on the domain. In the formative centuries of feudalism there has been a levelling down and up; the majority of the rural popula-

tion in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is in the half-way state between free and servile status know as serfdom.

The average serf is a villager installed on a holding; he is bound to the soil and not free to leave the domain; he may not marry outside the domain without his lord's leave; as an economic dependant he makes payments in services and kind; at marriage, birth of a child, at death, payments are exacted from him which are the signs of his personal dependence; he can be bought, sold or exchanged. These are facts about serfdom and the serf. They may easily, we believe, be misinterpreted.

Nor was the serf allowed to leave his land; he seldom wanted to leave it, for it was his means of livelihood. He could be dispossessed at his lord's will; without crediting the latter with too much intelligence it may be mentioned that the land was valueless without the serf to till it, and it was from tilled land that the lord drew his income and the services that enabled him to get his reserved land cultivated; in practice, servile families kept the same holdings for generations. The serf could be bought and sold with the estate; this is true, and he was not easily free to refuse to form part of the transfer, as the employees of a modern business firm or farm would be if it changed hands. Against harsh and arbitrary treatment his defence lay only in appeal to long-established custom, but the strength of this need not be underestimated.

Fairly stable in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the position of the serf underwent a slow change from then onwards. There were possibilities of escape from the tie in return for a cash payment, or as an act of piety on the lord's part, and there was, after plague or war, great difficulty in keeping the records. Over wide areas, as in the northern French plain, status followed the mother, and the children of a serf married to a freewoman were free. The freedom acquired by the serf who had spent a certain period in a chartered town probably affected but small numbers, but there was migration of another kind which was far-reaching in its consequences. The Canada and Australia of medieval Europe lay within the bounds of Europe itself, and at various dates new land was opened up for cultivation. Marshes were drained and forest areas cleared, and the abbot or count responsible for the clearing of new land offered as an inducement to settlers the prospect of better conditions both economic and social. There was thus a weakening of the rigid dependence of the earlier generations of serfdom. At the same time it remains true that there were regions in which serfdom remained oppressive and degrading far into modern times.

In appearance the medieval village is little changed from the domain from which it inherits its characteristic division into lord's land and land granted out to dependants. It retains, too, the marks of its more remote ancestor, the village community, in its open fields, its three-field system, its ownership of dispersed strips of ploughland. There may be more land under the plough and the waste may be diminished but feudalism as such has not changed the rural economy.

We may safely visualize the medieval village by way of its modern representative, for the "lie of the land" has altered little, though English hedges hide the old open fields. The church, manor house, workshops of craftsmen requisite for a self-sufficing community, tithe barn or grange—these, with the cottages of the peasants, are the nucleus round which lies the ploughland which remains in most places today as the oldest visible monument of Man's handiwork. The rest of the village territory includes the waste or common, the woodland and hay-meadows —these last, as a rule, the property of the lord of the domain. The typical peasant who lives here is a small farmer. He has his cottage or farmhouse, often of flimsy enough construction, to judge by the frequency of the medieval crime of arson. The furniture was in keeping, and an iron cooking pot was often the most costly article.

Besides cottage or farmhouse, croft and garden, he has his scattered pieces of arable. Communal ploughing and reaping disappeared at widely varying dates in different parts of Europe, but in any case "dispersion" involved common ploughing times and harvest times and prevented the enterprising man from improving his own holding. The holding, thus inconveniently arranged, is as a rule small—a forty-acre farm was a large one

—and it was made still less workable in the French and Belgian plains by the inveterate custom of equal division of the land among the heirs of the peasant, bond or free.

Methods of agriculture changed little in medieval times. The soil was improved only by the use of marl, the ploughing in of the stubble, and the pasturing of the herds on it after harvest. At the same time, there is no need to exaggerate the defects of medieval agriculture; it fed a large population, and there were farms in the hands of efficient stewards which gave good returns.

Crops used by peasants were spring and winter corn, peas and beans; much of medieval life is explained by the absence of root crops such as turnip and wurzel for winter feed for stock. His beasts, sheep or cattle, were pastured on the village waste in charge of the village herd, and the system did not tend to the improvement of strain; after harvest they were turned on to the stubble. Pigs were sent into the woods in autumn to fatten on the mast. For his fuel and repairs the villager depended on the woods, which were usually the lord's private reserve.

As for the peasant's food, it was of the kind and quality traditional with the farm laborer; bread, beans, bacon were its staple, with the addition of the fruits of poaching both for fish and game, though it may be said that on the Continent game laws, at least touching small game, became severe only as war became less available as the chief occupation for people of quality.

The life here sketched involved a host of regulations for its control, and these were embodied in local customs or "usages." These are the peasant's charter; they touch his life at every point, they are the only "constitution" that concerns him. They cover the dates for the completion of sowing and reaping, the number of beasts he shall have on the waste and their kind, the use of the wood, the ownership of the strayed swarm of bees, responsibilities for hedging and ditching, and so on. For the interpretation of these customs, which temper tyranny more than may be realized, there is the local court held by the lord's steward which deals with breaches of the usage of the village. The medieval peasant is often more vitally interested in the fact that his neighbor has stolen a furrow or two from him than in wider politics; the village is his state, and its affairs the only ones that touch him deeply.

Probably it is not possible to formulate an exact estimate of the medieval peasant's economic position. The following list of the main items in the payments due from him to various authorities may serve, however, to indicate its essentials and throw some further light on a rural organization common in its broad outline to all medieval Europe.

Under the head of "rent" are conveniently grouped such payments as appear to be directly attached to the pieces of land he holds and which will be transferred with it if it changes hands. As might be expected in a system of great antiquity, we find the greatest irregularity. This half acre is saddled with an annual payment of ten shillings; that owes a measure of corn; a third provides for the repair of the abbey roof; another is held on condition of performing errands for the lord. As time progresses and money decreases in value the cash payments become less onerous; payments in kind survive the Middle Ages and in times of scarcity were crushing. *Corvées*, or labor rents, universal in the earlier days of the domain, disappear in many districts in the thirteenth century, having been commuted to money payments. In other parts they remain as a burden on the peasant and an uneconomic method of cultivation for the lord of the soil. At times of scarcity of labor, as after the Black Death, the landlords attempted to institute a return from money payments to the *corvée* system, with consequent revolt on the part of the peasant.

Tithe, a tax levied on all produce of the soil, live or dead, was universal in the Christian world. Of the crops the tenth sheaf was collected, and the tithe cart making its way through the fields was a familiar sight at harvest time. On beasts the proportion was not always a literal tenth, and the possibility of the poorest beast being offered for tithe was avoided by the device of "last through the gate" or some such method. In coastal regions the tithe was levied on the produce of the fishing fleets, and a share of the total catch was duly handed over

to the collector. Even the early shallow coal workings in the Mons region were brought under tithe, and one basket in so many went to the local religious house —an anticipation of the modern "royalty."

We should sadly misread the medieval world if we regarded the tithe merely as burdensome; it was a payment for services rendered, and the prayers and offices of the Church meant something to those paying tithe. But it was distinctly vexatious in its mode of collection.

A villager must take his corn to be ground to one mill and to no other, to that belonging to the lord, lay or spiritual, who, by early assumed right or by special charter, has had bestowed on him the monopoly of erecting a mill or mills on a given stretch of water; for the water-mill is the rule until the thirteenth century in western Europe. The miller had usually farmed the mill from the local monopolist, and his habits made him one of the most abused figures of medieval times. In the vine regions the use of a domainal winepress was similarly imposed.

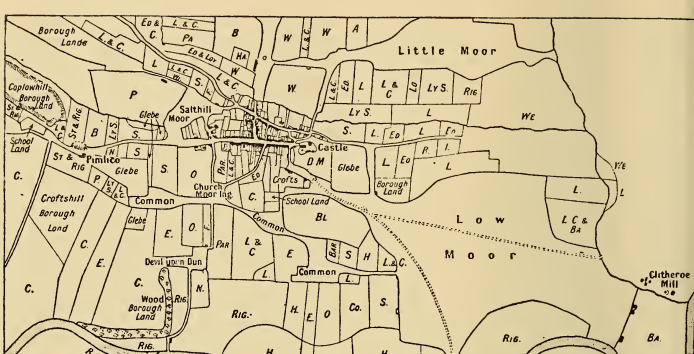
The compulsory use of an oven, owned by the lord or his lessee, for the baking of bread is an interesting instance of a communal benefit which had become a tyrannous exaction. The payment for the service was not heavy, being fixed, as a rule, at one loaf in so many according to season and price of fuel, but it involved inquisition into the number of loaves brought during the year and interference with the cottager's liberty to bake at home.

So far the payments noted are regular and fixed, and the peasant can reckon them in his budget, but the notorious "tallage," representing the right of the baron to tax at will his subjects, the dwellers on his estates, could not be so reckoned. By origin apparently a personal tax and badge of servile status, it often became settled on the land as distinct from its holder; originally, too, *à merci,* or at the lord's will, in frequency and amount, it had become fixed and proportionate to the size of the holding. But there are many instances of its survival in its most oppressive forms.

Estimates of the lot of the medieval peasant have usually gone to one of two extremes. There is the school which looks back to the medieval rural organization as that of a golden age. Others take the blackest view and compress the thousand years of medieval history into a regrettable interval in the march of human progress. The true view must be tempered by the facts, so far as possible; and there is no need to supply the medieval peasant, after the event, with a foreknowledge of modern progress by which to heighten the miseries of his lot.

Regarding his economic position, we cannot be quantitative in our conclusions, and particularly is it unwise to apply to his rents and other payments any standards derived from attempts to reckon the comparative value of money in his day and this. The opinion may be risked, however, that the sum total of the payments due from him to various authorities was not excessive, and that he was not over-rented or over-taxed. He held land of which in practice he was not easily dispossessed—the landless villager is a modern product. He was able to live on its produce. He lived under a government which he had not chosen, and also under controls and monopolies that were not of his establishing. His horizon was a narrow one; it was bounded by the confines of his village, or, at most, by the neighboring town. The rule of his lord was often brutal and was certainly capricious; it could be more effective in his hurt than in his defence, but it was often from the lord's underlings, near to him socially, that the worst of his oppressions came.

His chief miseries, we believe, came neither from the domainal system as such, nor perhaps from feudalism in itself. They came from the great defect of medieval society in general—lack of security and lack of strong executive power, able and willing to see to the carrying out of laws and customs not in themselves overfaulty or vicious. Apart from the common dangers of famine, and its close follower pestilence, the peasant was the first and most frequent victim of war; and medieval war, if not so effectively destructive as modern, was more frequent. The medieval army—as, for instance, in the Hundred Years' War—laid waste a tract of from ten to fifteen miles wide on its line of march, and the peasant died of hunger or fled to the woods, or to the nearest walled town, where he was com-



HOW A VILLAGER'S POSSESSIONS WERE SCATTERED OVER THE VILLAGE LAND

Whatever may have been the system in the primitive village community, land by the feudal age was not owned, though often ploughed, in common. Each villager, however, did not own a contiguous series of the strips; they were scattered, originally perhaps to secure equality of productivity. The initials, (standing for owners' names) in this plan of the land round Clitheroe, in Lancashire, show that in the early 19th century the system survived though the strips had given way to fields.

Redrawn from an early 19th century plan

pelled to stay sometimes for two or three years; and there were no generations in any part of continental Europe in which the peasant was not so exposed.

Slow release from much of this was to come with the increase in the power of duke, or king, or tyrant, with the supersession of feudalism by central government, with the substitution of standing armies for feudal hosts, with the abolition of private war. The peasant is to receive protection, and in return to enter a wider world, in which he shall pay his share towards the costly apparatus of the modern state. He is to live in comparative (not absolute) security, and although, perhaps, without so large an interest in the soil he tills, is to achieve some measure of consolation in the form of a larger share in the responsibilities and expenses falling to free citizens.

IRELAND'S PART IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY

HOW AN ISLAND ON ITS WESTERN CONFINES PRESERVED AND TRANSMITTED THE LEARNING OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

By STEPHEN L. GWYNN

Author of The History of Ireland, etc.

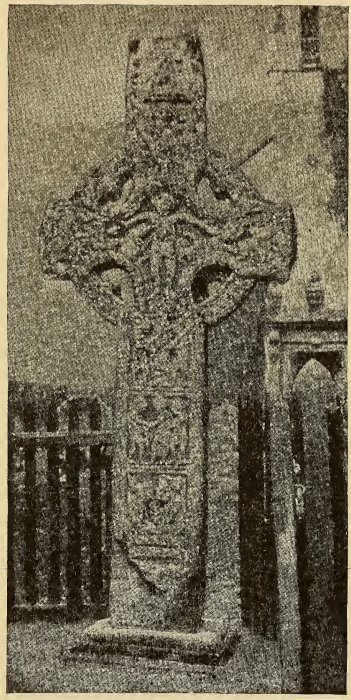
WHAT we now mean by Europe, except as a mere geographical expression, dates from the eleventh or twelfth century; it is really a reconstruction and extension of that grouping and common civilization which was called the Roman Empire. Ireland, lying on the outer rim, had indeed contact by trading and raiding with the Roman world, but was never brought into it by armed conquest. It was, however, at last 'Romanized,' or, as we should say now, 'Europeanized,' by the peaceful penetration of Christianity, at the very moment when Roman armies were being withdrawn from Britain.

S. Patrick was a Roman citizen, son of a 'decurio,' probably in South Wales, and he was captured by Irish raiders, about A.D. 400. The evacuation of Britain took place while he was a slave in county Antrim, and to the end of his life he thought of himself as a Roman, urged by divine power to work among the barbarians for the sake of Christ. His mission, for which he spent perhaps twenty years in preparing, is dated A.D. 432. Among his companions were Gauls and Britons: and the church which he established throughout the whole of Ireland before his death in 461 owed much at first to the British and Welsh saints and scholars scattered along the western coast from the Clyde to the Severn. Here Christianity, which had been the official religion of the Empire, survived, when the rest of England and Scotland had passed under pagan rule.

In bringing Christianity to Ireland, Patrick brought the Latin language and the use of Latin letters—keys to all the European knowledge of the time. The Irish had their own literature and their own records; but these were preserved, as in Gaul, by men specially trained in the use of memory. Patrick did not discourage the continuance of this learning: among his converts were not only princes but chief poets and sages. Yet for more than a century the two forms of learning were kept apart, knowledge in Gaelic relying on oral transmission, but Latin teaching on the written word.

It is well to distinguish at once between the history of the two learnings in Ireland. Irish literature and history and law continued to be transmitted in the native language and, even up to the time of Queen Elizabeth, largely by the trained memory. This literature meant a very great deal to Ireland; and, as contact with Europe developed, it absorbed parts of the general European tradition—the story of Troy, for instance, and the history of Alexander, as well as the Bible. But it never itself became part of the literature of Europe; it remained insular in its appeal—extending, of course, to Gaelic Scotland. Irish law again, preserved in Gaelic, had so strong a grip that the Gaelic order had to be utterly broken to pieces before the Irish would accept any other system; and for this reason Ireland gave to Europe in the Middle Ages no jurists. Ireland's service to Europe lay in preserving what Ireland received from the crumbling Roman Empire through the Roman citizen Patrick—the religion of Christianity and the Latin learning.

With respect to Latin learning, the Irish were not mere custodians of a deposit. The Christianity planted by S. Patrick grew with an intense life, stamped by the character of the race. He and his companion missionaries were secular clergy, bishops and priests. Those who made Irish Christianity a lamp in the Dark Ages were ascetic monks, joining to the passion for holiness an equal passion for learning. Many of them were



FINELY SCULPTURED ICONOGRAPHIC CELTIC CROSSES ON OLD MONASTIC LANDS

In Ireland the glebe land round a church was a sanctuary, and in ancient times the limit of the sanctuary were marked by high crosses, under the arms of which fugitives migh find protection. Representative specimens are Muiredach's Cross (right)—one of three a Monasterboice—and the cross at Durrow (left). There were monasteries at both thes places. These crosses were iconographic, with representations of Christ, the Crucifixion an various incidents narrated in the Old and the New Testaments; a characteristic of th Celtic cross is the circular ring round the intersection of the arms.

Photos, W. Lawrence

of princely blood; but in all the same instinct asserted itself, to seek out somewhere a lonely place, a 'desert,' and there live in prayer and meditation and study.

To each of these leaders disciples flocked, drawn by the repute of his sanctity. About the founder's cell other cells grew up, built of wattles and clay: the largest building was a tiny oratory in which they worshipped. But the community submitted to a 'rule,' imposed b its leader; and there was division of labor A great part of the labor was the multi plication of books. Without books ther could be no spread of learning. Man of the great saints were great scribes— and none more notably than the first Irisl missionary overseas.

This was Columba (521-597). By birtl eligible for the kingship of North Ireland

and, therefore, a possible high king of all Ireland, he entered religion and founded monasteries all over the northern half of Ireland, many of which became famous centers of scholarship and the illuminator's art. Kells and Durrow are conspicuous. About 563 he left Ireland to found a monastery at Iona. On the west coast of what was then called Alba Gaelic princes, holding a petty kingdom in Antrim, had established a branch of their power. Iona lay where the territory of Columba's Christian Gaelic kindred bordered on that held by the heathen Picts, to whom his mission was addressed. The work which he began was carried on at Iona by forty-nine successive abbots; and the barren rock grew into one of the centers of European life and thought.

S. PATRICK'S BELL

Iron bells resembling ordinary cow bells were used by the Irish saints in their ministrations. S. Patrick's bell is still preserved in Dublin.
National Library, Dublin

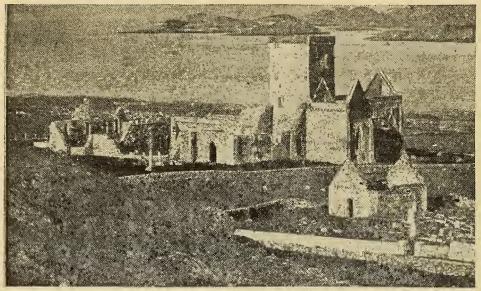
Its mission work extended beyond Alba. When the rulers of Northumbria sought to introduce Christianity among their people, neither Britons of Britain or of Brittany nor Gauls would approach the Saxons. The Northumbrian king, Oswald, who at one period was a refugee to Iona and was baptised there, appealed to its monks for help; and about 635 S. Aidan came and established the monastery of Lindisfarne on Holy Island near Bamborough. His labors and those of his fellow workers extended far and wide the work which S. Augustine thirty years earlier had begun. 'Augustine,' says Bishop Lightfoot, 'was the apostle of Kent, but Aidan was the apostle of England.' It is stated that in 662 every bishop in England but one had been ordained by an Irishman, and that single exception was a Gaul who had studied in Ireland.

To spread Christianity in the seventh century was to spread learning. Outside the clerks of the Church illiteracy was general. In the monasteries learning was fostered, and communication between these centers was maintained through Europe. Communications were specially close between monasteries of kindred foundation, such as Iona and its offspring Lindisfarne, or the other Northumbrian abbeys.

During the general chaos of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries, Ireland, free from invasion, provided a seed-bed in which tranquil studies were zealously fostered, and here an asylum was offered to the seekers after learning. Yet even more important for Europe than the work of Irish teachers in their own land was the labor of those who followed Columba's example farther afield than Britain. The first of these took the name 'Columbanus' (in Irish, Colman). A noble of Leinster, he was born in 543; trained first by an anchorite on one of the islands in Lough Erne, he proceeded to Bangor on

S. COLUMBA'S HOUSE AT KELLS

In the course of his career S. Columba is said to have founded a hundred monasteries, Kells—of which no traces now remain—being one of the most notable. This building, known as S. Columba's House, was originally an oratory.



IONA, 'THE ISLAND OF COLUMBA OF THE CELL'

S. Columba landed on Iona in 563 and founded the monastery which became the center of Celtic missionary work. All trace of that building has disappeared, and the remains above are of the Benedictine monastery and nunnery that replaced it in 1203, with the thirteenth-century cathedral church of S. Mary. The Chapel of S. Oran, in the cemetery, was built by Queen Margaret in the eleventh century on the supposed site of S. Columba's cell. This is the oldest ruin in Iona.

Photo, Frith & Co.

Belfast Lough. In 585 with a band of companions Columban passed into Gaul and began a course of wanderings which led him to Burgundy and there founded the monastery of Luxeuil, which grew to be one of the most important in what is now France.

The Irish missionary work was carried on even more by example than by preaching. Columban and his followers lived a life of rigid asceticism, peaceful and harmless. The birds and beasts came about him unfrightened, and his fame spread. Noble youths gathered about him, and they received instruction in his learning as well as in piety, for Columban was a good writer of Latin both in prose and verse, skilled in classic as well as in Christian literature. Other foundations sprang from his first settlements, and all grew into great and lasting institutions. Columban's name is the greatest among those who devoted themselves to missionary work on the Continent, both reviving Christianity where it was perishing and spreading it for the first time among actual pagans.

Thus it fell to the lot of Ireland, which had received Christianity from Roman Europe, to preserve Christianity behind a sea barrier when Britain and the Continent were swept by barbarian inroads. Then, as Europe began to reshape itself, Ireland brought back the gift it had received. Columba and his successors in England, Columban and his followers or imitators on the Continent, spread Christianity; and with it they brought back and extended the Latin learning, not exclusively using the classics, Cicero, Vergil, Horace and Ovid, for schoolbooks, but introducing and adding to the

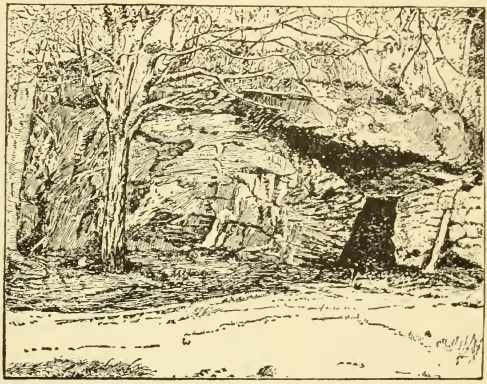
S. LUKE: BY A LINDISFARNE MONK

When they left Lindisfarne in 875 the monks took with them, among other treasures, an illuminated copy of the Gospels. This fell into the sea off Cumberland, but was recovered at Whitherne in Galloway.

British Museum, Cotton MSS., Nero D. iv

post-classical literature.

The work done by Irish foundations on the Continent for the diffusion of culture was by no means all due to Irishmen. Just as the institutions which S. Patrick, the Roman Briton, founded in Ireland were manned increasingly by natives of the country and rapidly became Irish, so, similarly, at for instance the house on Lake Constance, founded by St. Gall, Columban's disciple, the large majority of the monks and abbots after the first founder's time were of continental stock—mostly Swabian. But it must be remembered that except for the Irish missionary this com-



S. COLUMBAN'S HERMITAGE AT LUXEUIL

S. Columban, one of the greatest of the early Irish missionaries, reached Luxeuil, in the modern department of Haute-Saône, about 590, and founded a monastery. For twenty years he lived an ascetic life in this cave before resuming his missionary wanderings through Flanders, Switzerland and Italy.

From Stokes, 'Three Months in the Forests of France'

RUINS OF THE PRIORY CHURCH ON HOLY LINDISFARNE

S. Aidan founded a monastery on Holy Island, or Lindisfarne, near Bamborough, on the east coast of Northumberland, about 635. It was an offshoot of the monastery at Iona, and S. Cuthbert became a bishop of the see and was first buried there. The monastery suffered repeatedly and severely at the hands of Norse pirates, and was destroyed towards the end of the ninth century. In 1093 a Benedictine priory was established on its site, and the ruins of that church are still standing.

Photo, Hardie

munity would not have come into existence. In the same way, but for the Roman Briton S. Patrick, the Irish monasteries would not have begun. But the institutions created by Columba and the rest were very unlike anything of which Patrick ever dreamed; and, conversely, the monasteries of Irish type founded by Columban, by Gall and the rest turned into something quite un-Irish.

THE SPELL OF SANCTITY

S. Columban died in 615 and was buried in his monastery at Bobbio. This bas-relief on his sarcophagus, showing a bear and an ox yoked to the same plough, commemorates the extraordinary influence he exercised over wild creatures.
From Stokes, 'Six Months in the Apennines'

In 720 Iona and Clonmacnoise, and probably even Bangor and Armagh, still remained collections of wattled cells, scattered about tiny oratories; but b that time St. Ga had grown into stately Benedic tine abbey. Th Irish monks though they wer to a certain ex tent pioneers i building wit stone in thei own country contributed noth ing to the art o architectur which was the su preme achieve ment of the Mid dle Ages in Eu rope and i Great Britain. I was not till th twelfth century that a great Irish ecclesiastic, S Malachy O'Mor-

AN EARLY IRISH STONE CHURCH

Although wood was the characteristic building material of the ancient Irish, little stone churches were erected from early Christian times. S. Kevin's Church at Glendalough, in Wicklow, is representative. It measures 25 feet by 15 and has a high-pitched roof and a round belfry—reputedly the earliest of its type.
Photo, W. Lawrence

gair, set himself to introduce into Ireland something of the splendor and beauty with which he saw religion surrounded in the cloisters of his friend S Bernard of Cluny; and when he did, he was met by protests from the ascetics against this idle profusion. Thus, while in one sense the Irish were the founders of medieval Christendom in the Europe north of the Alps, in another sense northern Europe had to break away from the asceticism of Irish teachers to reach that medieval Christian culture of which Gothic architecture is the splendid expression.

But assuredly the Irish in the sixth and seventh centuries, did not come to the Continent with the expectation of learning anything there. To S. Gall and those Irish disciples who gathered about his cell, the Suev were 'barbarians'—

xactly as the Irish were to S. Patrick. ater, from the eighth century onward, vhen the Swabian monks had their own ocal saints and their local traditions, the rishmen were still overbearing, but found heir pretensions to a monopoly of culture esented. Also, from the very first days of their mission, certain of their traditions vere disapproved.

A special form of tonsure had grown p among them, running from ear to ear across the scalp; they were asked to conform to the usage recognized at Rome and in southern Europe. More serious was the fact that whereas Rome in A.D. 465 had introduced a new method of fixing Easter, the Scoti and Britons adhered to the old Jewish cycle of eighty-four years, with the result that Irish and British Christians in 631 celebrated Easter a month later than the rest of Europe. Part of Augustine's task in 605 was to bring about unity in this respect: but his arguments were met by a fierce and arrogant conservatism. In 664 the Synod of Whitby in Northumbria decided for the Roman view and the churches and people gradually conformed to the decision. Yet even then Colman, abbot and bishop of Lindisfarne, refused to submit, abandoned his abbey and took with him a band of monks to found a new settlement in the island of Innisboffin, off the Galway coast. Iona, the center of the Columban tradition, stood out till 716.

A MASTERPIECE OF IRISH METAL WORK

Celtic skill in metal work was remarkable. Irish filigree work in particular showing rare beauty. The finest specimen is the ninth-tenth-century silver Ardagh Chalice, round the body and foot of which are bands of filigree set with plaques having patterns wrought in filigree wire on a repoussé ground.

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Benefits of Controversy

THUS it may be said that Ireland, which contributed little to the architectural development of monastic institutions, also actually impeded the growth of conformity in ritual. But there is another aspect. First, in the progress of this controversy, intercourse between Europe and Ireland was greatly augmented and monks from southern Ireland made the pilgrimage to Rome in great numbers: the existence of controversy developed contact, and made unity real. Secondly, the mere fact that such a European discussion was carried on diffused knowledge; and one of the chief contributors to it was an Irish saint, Cummian, whose assent was won for unification. There remains a letter from him to the abbot of Iona which discusses the whole question of calendars used by the Macedonians, Egyptians and Hebrews, and the opinions of such commentators as Jerome and Origen. It helps us to understand that in the seventh century Ireland really was a great center of learning and knowledge, and not merely a hotbed of religious zeal.

In truth the service which Ireland rendered to Europe, apart from the diffusion of Christianity, was the diffusion of book learning. In a barbarous age, the Irish were pre-eminent as bookmen. Ireland was a factory of books. By Irish custom a man's rank was expressed by his 'eric,' the price to be paid for his killing; and the eric of a scribe was equal to that of an abbot or a chief. Further, the labor of the finest of the Irish artists was expended upon the adornment of books.

Europe's Debt to Ireland's Learning

But the debt for learning needs clarifying. First comes the work that was done in Ireland itself. All the great Irish saints from Patrick downwards were deeply versed in the Holy Scriptures—this was indeed Patrick's only scholarship; and in the seventh century or early in the eighth there was compiled a treatise on canon law, which became widely known on the Continent in the eighth century as Canon Hibernensis, and 'contributed powerfully to the shaping of ecclesiastical law among the Franks and Anglo-Saxons.' This was of great importance in an era when every clerk could claim to be judged by the church's courts.

It is impossible in an age when letters were cultivated only in the Church to distinguish between sacred and secular learning. But the work of two scholars enables us to judge by a modern standard the quality of Irish teaching. Ferghail, abbot of Aghaboe, spent the first forty years of his life in Ireland. Then he set out on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but his fame was so great that he was detained for two years in Gaul at the court of Pepin. Then he proceeded to Bavaria, where he was made abbot of Salzburg. At Salzburg he taught, as he had taught in Ireland, that the earth was a sphere and that there were people at the antipodes. A jealous rival 'delated' this teaching of his to Rome, and Ferghail was summoned to defend his views; but he was not called upon to renounce them, and he died, in 784, still bishop. It is probable that his advanced teaching continued to prevail in the island of his upbringing.

Dicuil the geographer, an Irish monk, wrote a treatise on the Ten Problems of the Grammatical Art, which is lost. He, finished, however, in 825 a treatise on geography, On the Measurement of the Earth (part in prose, part in verse), which sums up the geographical knowledge of the ninth century. He does not adopt Ferghail's theory of the universe.

By the latter part of the eighth century when the conception of Christendom began to take the place of the old Roman Empire, Charlemagne was set upon reviving literary culture. He had fetched over a learned clerk Alcuin, from York, one of the foundations sprung from the Irish Lindisfarne. Alcuin speaks in one of his epistles of the services rendered to Christendom by 'the most learned Irish masters who brought about so great advance in the churches of Christ in Britain, in Gaul and in Italy.' Whether he himself ever studied in Ireland is uncertain; but there exists a letter from him to Colgu, chief professor at Clonmacnoise. It begins with a lament that Alcuin had for a considerable time received no letter from this friend of his in Ireland and says that he 'feels daily need of his support.' It conveys words to Colgu concerning 'your men' (that is, pupils of Clonmacnoise) 'who were at the monastery of S. Martin at Tours.' It describes the political situation of Europe; and ends by conveying a gift of fifty gold pieces form Charlemagne, with as much more and a quantity of choice oil for use in ceremonies from Alcuin himself. So far from the Shannon's bank extended the fame of this 'chief scribe and master of the Scots of Ireland.'

IRISH DRESS OF LONG AGO

Illustrations in the Book of Kells, and elsewhere, show the ecclesiastical and lay costume of eighth-century Ireland. The angel here wears the characteristic long mantle and narrow underskirt reaching to the feet.

From Abbott, Book of Kells

From its foundation in 613 onwards St. Gall had a certain number of Irish monks. In the ninth century their number increased, instead of diminishing as time went on, for a definite reason. Ireland, which had been sheltered during the

seventh and eighth centuries, was subjected to the inroads of the Danes from 800 onwards. These were specially directed against the monasteries, and to the missionary impulse was now added the desire for a place where peaceful study could be pursued. The monks migrated in crowds. On the roads leading to Rome, and especially above the Rhine, were special hospices for the entertainment of these pilgrims: strangers with long flowing hair, clad in a long robe of undyed wool tied by a belt, a cowl of the same material, and raw hide sandals—such as are still worn by Aran islanders. They carried a long staff, a wallet and bottle of leather, often also a reliquary and writing tablets, which they appear to have introduced into Germany.

The Irish pilgrims were widely disliked (according to the testimony of one of themselves) because of the clamor and importunity of the large parties in which they traveled. Some, it would appear, were impostors. But they had among them such men as Moengal, who had traveled from Ireland with his uncle, a bishop, to Rome; and on the way back they halted at St. Gall and were invited to remain as inmates.

ANCIENT IRISH BROGUES

Shoes worn by the early Irish were made of hide, tanned or untanned, and stitched with thongs from the same hide. The lower specimen is a complete shoe made of a single piece; the top had a separate sole. Brogues practically identical with these are worn in the Island of Aran to-day.

National Museum, Dublin

The Schools of St. Gall

THE monastery had two schools, the outer for the sons of wealthy nobles, the inner, in which the standard was higher and the course of instruction much larger, for the intending monks. Moengal was put in charge of the inner school. This was about 850.

Moengal taught all the seven 'liberal arts': grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy. His special importance, however, is that he knew Greek in an age when such knowledge was very rare in Europe, and there is at Basel a Greek text of the Psalter with interlined Latin translation written by him, and beautifully written, for he was an artist-scribe as well as a scholar. His school at St. Gall was one of the four places in Europe where Greek was being taught.

Moengal as Musician

FURTHER than this, one of the reasons why Moengal was pressed to settle at St. Gall was that he had great skill in music. His pupils Notker and Ratpert have left chants that are still used, and it is said that Moengal developed the use of instrumental music—an art specially studied in Celtic Ireland. We are expressly told that he assisted and encouraged his pupil Notker in devising a system of notation for the sequences which were chanted.

Moengal's case is a fair illustration of the work done in Europe by Irishmen. The library of St. Gall was in great measure formed under the influence of Irish monks. 'We may attribute to their efforts,' says Clarke, 'the study of Greek and the introduction of such writers as Priscian, Charisius, Lactantius, Sedulius and Johannes Scotus.' These represented the newer contributions to learning, and the last two of them were Irishmen. Also, the Irish were commentators on Boethius; they were chiefly responsible for preserving Pelagius—a suspect writer.

Yet, says Dr. Clarke, 'St. Gall does not belong to the category of genuine Irish monasteries like S. Martin's the Great at Cologne, S. Symphorian's at Metz, S. Martin's at Mainz and the foundations of the Irish mission in Bavaria.' These were ruled by an Irish abbot and the monks were recruited from Ireland.

When they fled to Europe in search of places of shelter during the period of the Danish raids, the Irish did not come empty-handed. They carried their books with them. But the men who fled were even more valuable than their books. Moengal belonged to a group who had somehow acquired Greek in Ireland; one of his friends was Sedulius, who about 848 arrived at Liège, where he and his companions founded an Irish colony. The monks found useful employment writing, copying and collecting manuscripts. They were in touch with other Irish groups at St. Gall, at Salzburg, and at Milan.

Sedulius wrote voluminously in both prose and verse, and names in his writings several of his compatriots, scholars like himself. But by far more notable than he was Johannes Scotus Erigena, a scholar born some time before 825, possessing both Latin and Greek and writing verse in both languages, but more notably a bold thinker and subtle reasoner. Employed by the archbishop of Reims to reply to views set out by the monk Gottschalk, who preached predestination in its extreme form, he argued for free will, and refused to admit that God could have knowingly created creatures born to be damned. For his arguments he relied on pure philosophy, or dialectic. Reason, he held, is the basis of all knowledge, the revelation vouchsafed by God to man; authority is a species of this revelation, yet stands below reason, and needs that reason should be its interpreter.

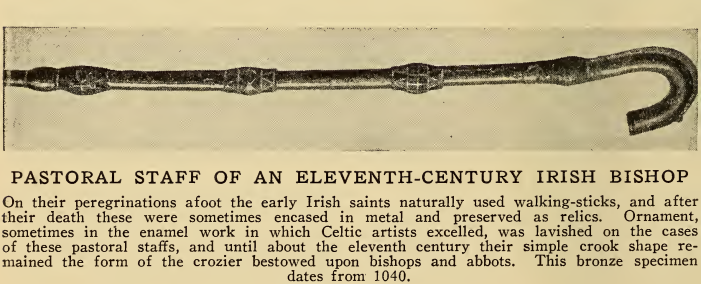
How far modern theologians may be justified in condemning him as 'the father of rationalism' need not be discussed. It is plain that he brought to Europe in the early Middle Ages a vivid intelligence, which affected the views alike of heretics and orthodox schoolmen, and later the German mystics.

Such was Ireland's contribution to the intellectual life of medieval Europe, the work first of missionary saints and then of wandering scholars. Its extent can only be guessed at, because it was made through Latin; but Ireland was an extremely important agent in the general diffusion of Latin which unified medieval Christendom. 'The classical tradition of the rudiments of polite learning took possession of Ireland; it came back from Ireland to Britain or Germany,' writes Ker.

Disuse of the Irish Script

THE distinctively Irish skill in book illumination spread with the Irish scholars to the Continent and was imitated there; but it led nowhere. The Irish masterpieces in the Books of Kells and Durrow were never approached in excellence. European art grew on other and more congenial and more fruitful lines. The Irish script, which had been adopted in England under the influence of Irish missionaries, began to be disused on the Continent; its contractions and ligatures were too difficult to read, and even Irish scholars like Moengal, working on the Continent, used the continental script in the ninth century. But in the earlier times when books were at their scarcest Ireland was perhaps the chief source of supply, and certainly afforded an unsurpassed example for beauty and finish of penmanship.

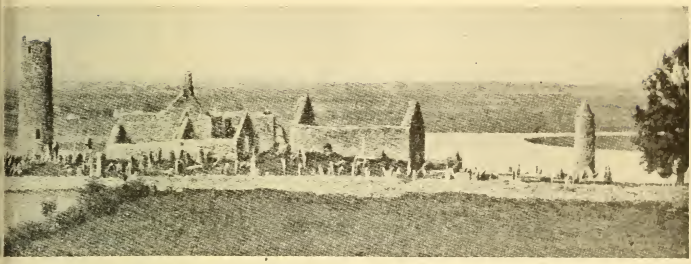
From the eleventh century onward, after Brian Boru had reduced the menace of the Danes to quiescence, Ireland was



PASTORAL STAFF OF AN ELEVENTH-CENTURY IRISH BISHOP

On their peregrinations afoot the early Irish saints naturally used walking-sticks, and after their death these were sometimes encased in metal and preserved as relics. Ornament, sometimes in the enamel work in which Celtic artists excelled, was lavished on the cases of these pastoral staffs, and until about the eleventh century their simple crook shape remained the form of the crozier bestowed upon bishops and abbots. This bronze specimen dates from 1040.

British Museum



CLONMACNOISE, IRELAND'S MOST FAMOUS EARLY SEAT OF LEARNING

St. Kiernan founded the abbey at Clonmacnoise, on the Shannon, about 548, and it speedily attained European reputation as a seat of learning. The ecclesiastical ruins are the finest in Ireland, comprising remains of all the 'Seven Churches of Clonmacnoise', notably the fourteenth-century Great Church. The two ruined towers and three carved crosses are other notable relics. Clonmacnoise was a great book-producing center, its most famous production being The Book of the Dun Cow.

Photo, W. Lawrence

busy within her own bounds, renewing her schools and her store of books. There were still Irishmen working on the Continent; but Ireland had ceased to be a source of European energy; her own tasks fully occupied her best men. By the twelfth century the greatest Irish ecclesiastic of his time, S. Malachy, was seeking to introduce into Ireland much of the continental culture. Then came the Norman conquest, after which it cannot be said that Ireland made any contribution to the general development of European civilization until the Middle Ages in their most extended sense were at an end.

Yet even in this latter period the wandering scholars from this island are found all over the continent. The influence of Ireland, spiritually and intellectually, upon the growth of medieval Christendom cannot be denied, and it was the result not so much of a few specially gifted individuals as of a widespread missionary fervor and a not less diffused zeal for knowledge in the race as a whole.

THE KINGDOM OF SICILY UNDER THE NORMANS

A BRILLIANT COSMOPOLITAN REGIME SET UP IN SICILY AND SOUTH ITALY BY ADVENTURERS FROM THE NORTH

By E. G. GARDNER, Litt.D. F.B.A.

Professor of Italian, London University, 1925-34; Author of Dukes and Poets in Ferrara, etc.

It may roughly be said that, from the time of Charlemagne to that of Victor Emmanuel, there were two almost distinct Italies; the north and south of the peninsula, with different traditions and different social conditions, separated by what a Bourbon king of Naples was to call 'the holy water barrier,' the Patrimony of S. Peter and what developed into the States of the Church. This distinction began with the Franks, but was crystallized by the Normans.

The Frankish conquest at the end of the eighth century, while overthrowing the incomplete Langobard domination in the north and establishing what became the temporal power of the popes in the center, had left the south practically intact. The 'kingdom of Italy' in the north developed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries into the Italy of the communes, which became the Italy of the Guelphs and Ghibellines (see Chapter 94). Otto the Great had indeed claimed southern Italy for the 'regnum italicum,' and his ambassador had declared to the Byzantine emperor that 'The population and the language manifest that the land which you assert to be part of your empire belongs to the Italian kingdom.' But the Western emperors, in spite of repeated attempts, had never been able to make this claim a reality, and—to perpetuate the division between the two parts of the peninsula—there came, in the beginning of the eleventh century, those strange romantic freebooters and pilgrims from the shore of the British Channel, the Normans, to establish in contrast with communal Italy of the north a monarchical Italy, the Italy of the south which, in spite of all subsequent political changes, was to retain its essential character of a feudal monarchy as long as it had an independent existence.

Nevertheless, with their conquest the Normans were accomplishing what has been called a 'mission of Latinity,' which was one of the factors in the ultimate unification of Italy. It was the historical part of these men of Scandinavian descent to win back southern Italy from the East and to unite Sicily to the Latin civilization, even as they were simultaneously doing with Britain.

This southern Italy in which the Norman adventurers made their appearance was nominally subject to Byzantium, and the Byzantine capital was at Bari. Its civilization had become largely Greek. Naples appears to have been at one time a center of Hellenic studies with a somewhat marked anti-Roman tendency, but after the eighth century it adopted Latin instead of Greek as the official language. Sicily itself, where three centuries of Byzantine rule had destroyed the western characteristics imposed by Rome, had fallen to the Arabs in the ninth century and become completely orientalized.

This Saracenic conquest of the island caused the emigration of Greek refugees into Calabria, where Greek monks and hermits founded religious houses under the rule of S. Basil, and extended their Hellenising influence as far northwards as Rome itself. But against this Hellenising influence, especially as associated with Byzantium, except in Calabria and some parts of Apulia, there was a growing resistance, intensified by the financial burdens laid upon the cities by the Byzantine officials.

Within Byzantine Italy, but only relatively acknowledging the supremacy of the Eastern Empire, the maritime

cities of Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta—where the Latin blood was less mixed—had obtained virtual independence as duchies in which the nobles at least gradually acquired some political rights. They have been described as aristocratic republics under hereditary dukes, and the dukes of Amalfi were merchant princes like the great Venetian families. Further, there were the practically independent Langobard principalities of Capua, Benevento and Salerno. Here, instead of Roman law as codified by Justinian, Langobardic legislation prevailed. To a far greater extent than their dispossessed kinsmen in the north these Langobard princes and nobles had become Italian, and the civilization of their states was Latin. Here, as elsewhere in Italy, the Langobard conquest had been a settlement, and the population was a fusion of the Langobard with the native Latin Italian element.

Not only in Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta, but in Benevento and Salerno, and in cities subject to Byzantium like Trani, Troia and even Bari, there was a noteworthy development of municipal autonomy in continuation, perhaps, of the old Roman 'municipium.' This chronologically anticipates the communes of northern Italy, and would perhaps have led to an analogous evolution of city states in the south, had not their development been cut short and arrested at its initial stage by the Norman conquest reducing the whole to the comparative uniformity of the feudal monarchy.

This conquest was like no other in the history of Italy. It was not the migration of a people in arms, like that of the Ostrogoths or the Langobards, nor the invasion of a great feudal army, as in the case of the Franks, or later when the Angevins made themselves masters of the Norman heritage. It was effected by

MONREALE CATHEDRAL: SHRINE OF NORMAN-SICILIAN CULTURE

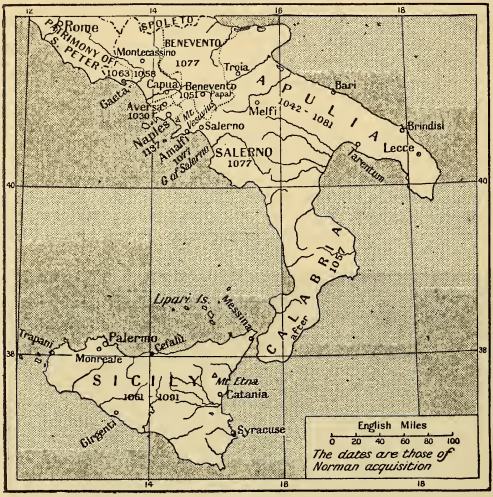
Monreale Cathedral, founded by William II, is of prime importance to the student of Sicilian architecture, sculpture and mosaic work. The interior is most impressive, with its admirable proportions, beautiful marbles and superb mosaics.

bands of adventurers, acting at first independently, and later, even when augmented by other similar companies from Normandy and united under one leader, always in very small numbers compared with the peoples upon whom they imposed an organization quite alien to the traditions of the land. The hostility between Byzantine and Langobard or Italian, the mutual rivalries of the Langobard princes, the helplessness of the indigenous population, no less than the astuteness and military skill of the Normans, were all factors in the extraordinary transformation of the confusion of southern Italy into a single great power.

Unquestionably there was an initial period when these Northmen were mere barbarian soldiers, contributing a fresh and more potent element of anarchy, reducing the native populations to a condition of misery worse than they had endured under Langobard prince or Byzantine 'catapan.' Bent on the acquisition of territory, recognizing no authority, each Norman chief lived by indiscriminate plunder, and made his petty wars by wholesale devastation of the regions within his reach.

Out of this anarchy emerges the gigantic figure of the son of Tancred de Hauteville, 'terror mundi Guiscardus.' From a mere robber chieftain, now in the service of one Norman leader, now in that of another, Robert Guiscard rose to be the lord of all, with a legitimate title as duke of Apulia from 1059 onwards, recognized as such by the pope, nominally the feudatory and ally (both on his own terms) of the Papacy. The capture of Bari in 1071 finally overthrew the Byzantine government on the mainland, and in 1072 the taking of Palermo from the Saracens secured the possession of Sicily to himself and his brother Roger, though the conquest of the island was not completed by the latter until twenty years later. By 1080 all southern Italy, except the now Norman principality of Capua and the still independent city of Naples under its duke, owned Guiscard's domination, and his vast imperialistic designs upon Byzantium itself were only cut short by his death in 1085.

But Guiscard was a military conqueror with dreams of a vast hegemony, not a constructive statesman. His triumph had been due to his own personality. His successors as dukes of Apulia—his son Roger Borsa and his grandson William—were unable to maintain the unity he had imposed on the mainland, where the great Norman counts readily cast off the yoke which had been laid upon them



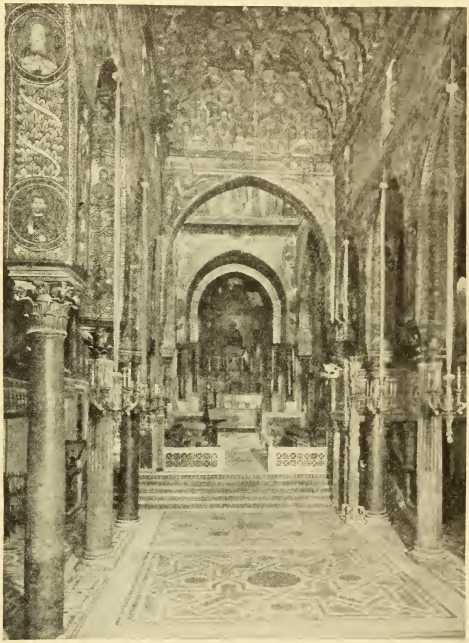
AREA OF THE NORMAN KINGDOM OF SICILY

Norman occupation of South Italy began in 1030 with the taking of Aversa. Robert Guiscard arrived in 1046 and with his brother Roger conquered the whole of South Italy and Sicily. In 1127 Roger II of Sicily secured possession of Apulia and Calabria, together with Capua, and in 1130 assumed the royal crown.

by the might of one who had been their equal. In Sicily, on the other hand, as Chalandon remarks, the conquest had been from the outset effected by Guiscard and Roger with their own troops; none but they possessed any rights in the conquered territory; the other Normans were all their vassals, and the fiefs had been so conferred upon them that there was no possibility of a powerful rival arising out of their ranks. Thus the Norman future lay no longer with the duke of Apulia but with the count of Sicily, and Roger had not only consolidated the island into a well organized state and obtained rights in Calabria but had become a recognized factor in the European polity when he died in 1101. To his son Roger—who succeeded his elder brother Simone as count of Sicily in 1103—was left the task of founding the Norman kindom.

A new epoch opens when, on the death of duke William of Apulia in 1127, the second count Roger of Sicily appeared with his fleet in the harbor of Salerno to claim the entire Norman domination on the mainland. Promptly accepted as duke of Apulia, he was able within two years to hold the Great Council at Melfi in 1129, at which all the counts and vassals were compelled to take the oath of fealty to the new duke and his sons, Tancred and Roger. But even more significant was the edict which they were compelled to swear to observe. It forbade private war between nobles, enjoined just and pacific relations with the populations of the duke's dominions, respect for pilgrims, travellers and merchants and the subjection of criminals to the ducal courts of justice, and promulgated a universal peace. In 1130 Roger was crowned king of Sicily by the legate of the antipope Anacletus at Palermo.

Naples, the only remaining independent non-Norman state in southern Italy, passed under the rule of Roger after the death of its last native duke, Sergius, in 1137. But the king had to struggle against rebellions of his Norman feudatories and of the Italian cities, a Germanic invasion which reached Bari and Salerno, the enmity of the popes, and the perpetual threat of a hostile alliance of both Eastern and Western Empires against his kingdom. Only in the latter part of his



ROGER OF SICILY'S CHAPEL ROYAL

Built by Roger II between 1132 and 1140, the Capella Palatina at Palermo is a superb example of Christian-Saracen architecture. With its mosaics, marbles and painted honeycomb wooden roof, it is reputed to be the finest royal chapel in the world. The palace was originally the Saracen emirs' castle.
Photo, Alinari

CORONATION MOSAIC OF ROGER II

Under the Norman kings a new style of mosaic was developed in Sicily, the so-called Norman-Sicilian, different from the Roman and still more different from the Byzantine. The churches built in the reigns of Roger II (1130-54) and his grandson William II (1166-89) are profusely decorated with superb examples of the school. This representation of Roger receiving his crown from Christ himself, is in the Martorana church at Palermo.

Photo, Brogi

reign did he succeed in enforcing peace and submission in his Italian dominions, and, with the capture of Tripoli in 1146, extend the Norman power over the coast of northern Africa.

These African possessions were lost in the reign of Roger's son and successor, William I (1154-1166). By the treaty of Benevento, in 1156, William made the Norman kingdom the ally of the Papacy, but he had to maintain a long struggle for his throne against a Byzantine invasion and several revolts of his own Norman feudatories, the stern repression of which—reacting more cruelly upon the non-Norman inhabitants of cities like Bari, which was destroyed—earned him, perhaps with scant justice, the title in history of 'William the Bad.' A Jewish traveller from Spain, some twelve years later, speaks of Bari as 'the great city which King William of Sicily destroyed. Neither Jew nor Gentile lives there at the present day.' It was rebuilt under his son and successor, William II, to whom by contrast has been assigned the title of 'William the Good.' With his reign peace enjoyed by Sicily spread from the fortunate island to the Apulian and Calabrian mainland.

It has been said by Prof. C. H. Haskins that it is 'not too much to call the kingdom of Roger the first modern state.' But it was like no other state in history. Into the strange medley of southern Italy and Sicily, with its Greek, Langobard, Saracenic institutions, the Normans introduced the feudal system of the North, but superimposed upon it an elaborate bureaucracy derived from Byzantium, crowning the whole edifice with a theocratic conception of the holder of the royal throne, to criticize whose actions was declared akin to sacrilege. Their model of kingship was the Eastern emperor, the ruler of that great city which had been the 'Micklegarth' of the Normans' Scandinavian forebears who had served among the Varangians of the imperial guard. The foundatories held their lands by the grace of God and of the king, but the king himself—the nominal suzerainty of the pope being conveniently ignored—derived his power (like the emperor of Dante's Monarchia) directly from God; and so, in the mosaics of the Martorana at Palermo and of the cathedral at Monreale, we may still see Roger and William II receiving their crowns from the hands of Christ.

This theocratic aspect of the Sicilian monarchy was emphasized by the peculiar relations of the sovereign with the Papacy. The king himself was the supreme representative of the Church in Sicily, where no legate from Rome could penetrate without his express permission, and he consequently possessed an ecclesiastical authority over his bishops and clergy of a kind which no other sovereign of the period could claim to exercise. Immediately under the king was the Curia Regis, the instrument of government and administration, a supreme council and center of the bureaucratic system, in

which the Norman vassals of the crown were in a minority.

This Norman rule was essentially tolerant as well as eclectic. It did not suppress, but adapted itself to the pre-existing conditions and varying civilizations both of the island and of the mainland. The Normans had something of the old Roman gift of organization and adaptability, and, like them, interfered as little as possible with local conditions. 'Latins, Greeks, Jews and Saracens, let each be judged according to his own law'—thus ran the ordinance of the Norman kings.

Until the latter years of William II Moslems appear to have enjoyed very considerable, if not complete, religious liberty. The most reliable part of the Norman army was composed of Saracens, under their own leaders, and the elder Roger had strictly forbidden any attempt on the part of the Catholic clergy to make proselytes among their ranks.

As to the Langobards (who might by this time be called Italians), their aristocracy seems to have fused easily with the Normans as soon as the previously ruling families had been dispossessed. Robert Guiscard himself had married a Langobard princess, and there was unquestionably a good deal of intermarriage between the nobles of the two races, from the union of which the turbulent barons of later Neapolitan history were descended. Langobards seem to have been specially favored as officials, the kings, after Roger, preferring men of comparatively obscure origin for their ministers in opposition to the powerful Norman feudatories. In Sicily not a few foreigners, notably Englishmen, were in the

EAST END OF THE CATHEDRAL AT PALERMO

Palermo Cathedral was built about 1170 by an Englishman, Walter Offamil, once tutor to William II of Sicily and afterwards archbishop of Palermo. It is built mainly of a golden stone, with graceful campanili at the four corners, and its perfection is only marred by an inappropriate dome added at the end of the eighteenth century. The interior is very ornately decorated and there are some notable monumenets of the Norman princes. Archbishop Walter's tomb is in the Norman crypt.

royal service, and held high positions.

Even under the unifying pressure of the monarchy with its 'curia magna,' there were very considerable differences between the conditions obtaining on the southern mainland and those in Sicily. The older divisions of southern Italy were largely preserved in the Norman provinces, of which members of the royal family bore the customary titles of duke or prince. The Norman feudatories had an importance in Apulia and Calabria which they never had in the island itself (where, from the outset, the fiefs were on a much smaller scale), and the counts frequently held the high administrative positions which in Sicily were normally monopolized by ecclesiastics and bureaucrats. As a rule, these nobles had no power of criminal jurisdiction within their fiefs, though they seem to have been frequently associated with the justices of the royal courts. From these courts there was always, at least in theory, the right of appeal for high and low alike to 'the royal majesty.'

There was naturally more municipal life on the mainland than in the island. But, although various privileges were at different times granted to the cities, no free city existed in southern Italy under the Normans; they were deprived of all political power, and the chief magistrates were all appointed by the king. Outside the great cities a considerable portion of the population was in a state of serfdom, bound to the soil which they worked, but there were also free men with the obligation of military service, and a class of free men holding land without service, with small communities of local proprietors. In the peace of the reign of the second William a tendency set in for peasants to leave the shelter of the walled town and group themselves in hamlets in the countryside.

Sicily was comparatively seldom disturbed by the rebellions which so frequently distracted the provinces of the mainland, and it was here—the natural meeting-ground of Latin, Greek and Saracen—that this cosmopolitan Norman regime could more freely develop. The Normans made Palermo the most splendid city of the medieval world: a city of magnificent churches and palaces, with decorations in marble, precious metal and mosaic, and of delightful fountains and pleasure gardens, upon which Arabian travellers from Bagdad or Córdova looked with envy, praying that Allah might give them back to the followers of the Prophet. Here, under certain restrictions, Christian and Moslem and Jew lived side by side in quarters of their own.

The successors of Roger tended more and more to seclude themselves from the eyes of their subjects, wrapping the royal dignity with mystery and ceremony, appearing in public rarely and then in dazzling Oriental attire. 'No Christian king is more luxurious in his rule nor lives more delightfully,' says Ibn Jubair (who came to Sicily in 1183) of William, whom he depicts as resembling the Moslem kings in staying absorbed 'in the delights of kinghood.' The king reads and writes Arabic, shows the greatest tolerance to Moslems. His officials, pages and eunuchs are Moslems, and also the women of his palace, who sometimes convert the Christian women secretly to their own faith. He loves the society of learned men and, when he hears of such travelling in his dominions, tries by generous provision to retain them and make them forget their native land.

While the magnificent Christian churches aroused the amazement of the Arabian traveller, he noticed with satisfaction that there was an abundance of mosques in the city, well preserved, from which the muezzin's voice duly rose in the call to prayer. There was also (he naturally does not mention it) a great Jewish synagogue—Benjamin of Tudela estimates the number of Jews in Palermo at about 1,500. The costumes of the Christian women, thronging to the churches on Christmas day, also impressed Ibn Jubair; he speaks of their silk dresses worked with gold, their colored veils, richly decorated shoes and the like. In the country the Christians employed Moslems to manage their industries, but the writer implies that there were grievances; for instance, if a Saracen broke with his family and took refuge in a church, he was forcibly baptized and lost to his kin.

Later, even in Palermo, the Christians began to oppress their Moslem fellow subjects, and this was to lead to a general rising of the Saracens in Sicily immediately after the death of the second

William. Indeed, Curtis goes so far as to declare that, under the two Williams, 'the safety of the Arabs was menaced from every side save that of the Court.' This menace seems to have originated, not with the native Sicilians, but with the new Italian elements from the mainland, which it had been the policy of the kings, from Roger onwards, to introduce into the island, with a view to counterbalancing the Greek predominance in the non-Arab population.

Thus the population of the island, especially the eastern portion, was augmented by the encouragement of migration from Calabria and elsewhere on the mainland, such incomers—especially 'those of the Latin tongue'—being granted privileges and exemptions; and hence Messina became a mighty city, the rival of Palermo itself, with little colonies from Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Amalfi. Messina was not only the connecting link with Calabria, but the starting point for the Norman expeditions of African and Oriental conquest, and a stage in the passage of crusader or pilgrim for the Holy Land. Thus while Palermo, with the royal court and all the circumstances of splendid life, remained essentially the Saracenic city upon which a Norman color had been laid, Messina, the center of the naval power of the kingdom with the great arsenal, became a more definitely Latin city, with a certain Greek element, particularly among the lower classes, but from which the Moslems seem to have been gradually excluded.

Roger had likewise planted agricultural colonies of Italians here and there in the island, organized into something like rudimentary communes. Some of these were composed of north Italians, Lombards in the strict sense of the word, and there are portions of eastern Sicily where a western Lombard dialect is still spoken.

Not only in Messina, but in Palermo and in the chief ports of the mainlands, Pisans and Genoese and Venetians had their colonies; and their merchants, together with those of Amalfi, had to some extent the commerce of the kingdom in their hands. The port duties and tariffs involved formed a considerable part of the royal income. Iron mining, silk manufacture and fisheries (of which the tunny was the staple) were all royal monopolies; and it was said that the income from Palermo alone exceeded that which Henry II derived from the whole of England.

LOVELY SICILIAN SILK BROCADE

The silk fabrics and embroideries produced at the royal factory at Palermo in the twelfth century were exquisite, especially the royal coronation robes. The style was strongly Oriental at first, as in this specimen, showing a pair of peacocks in their pride, with a Kufic inscription on the border.

Victoria and Albert Museum

GEORGE OF ANTIOCH

Roger II's admiral, George of Antioch, built the church of La Martorana at Palermo and in it placed this mosaic depicting himself prostrate at the Virgin's feet.

Photo, Alinari

French appears to have been the language of the Sicilian court, although Latin, Greek and Arabic were all three employed officially by the royal chancellery. The earlier chroniclers of the conquest wrote in Latin, but with King Roger the Sicilian culture for a while became cosmopolitan. The king himself—as was natural in one who cherished grandiose dreams of conquest—had a passion for geography. He found a collaborator in Idrisi, an Arab from Spain (himself a descendant of the Prophet), who had settled at his court, and there was constructed in the palace an enormous silver planisphere upon which was traced a representation of the entire world. With this basis Idrisi wrote in Arabic the work entitled 'Nuzhat, The Disport of whoso loves to go round the World,' more generally known as The Book of Roger, which was finished in 1154 shortly before the king's death.

In Greek the archimandrite, Nilus Doxopatrius, composed the "History of the Five Patriarchates," a defence of the claims of the Greek against the Latin Church—apparently prompted by the king at the time when he was tentatively looking to the East rather than to Rome in the great religious controversy. Under William I the chief literary figure in Sicily was another Greek, Henricus Aristippus, archdeacon of Catania (and therefore Latin in religion), who translated into Latin two of the dialogues of Plato, the Phaedo and the Meno, a work of singular importance in the history of Greek studies in Europe which anticipates the Early Renaissance.

The cosmopolitan character of Sicilian culture was already waning when William II came to the throne. The chief writers of his reign are Romualdus of Salerno and Ugo Falcando, both of them Latin historians of the events they witnessed; a noteworthy Latin Poet, Pietro d'Eboli (an Italian of the mainland), rose to sing of the struggle for the throne with which the Norman epoch ended. The Sicilian court prepared the way, and created the setting, for the breaking into flower of a new Italian poetry under the Swabian successors of the Normans. Did the Normans contribute anything to this new growth? We can hardly doubt that minstrels came with the Norman knights to Italy, and that, mingling with the Arabic songs of the Saracens at Palermo, the notes of Norman and French numbers were heard in the royal palace and gardens.

The personal character of the beautiful and gracious young William II remains shadowy and mysterious. Those women who surround him contemporary report represents as the inmates of his harem. His marriage with Joan, the daughter of Henry II of England, proved childless, though it is said to have been as a votive offering, to obtain the grace of a direct heir, that he reared the cathedral of Monreale, the supreme artistic monument of his reign. The virile spirit of the early Norman conquerors, already dwindling in his father, was not in him. But, though he led no armies in the field, he gave this golden age of prosperity to his subjects while continuing the old Sicilian policy of high adventure in the East and in Africa.

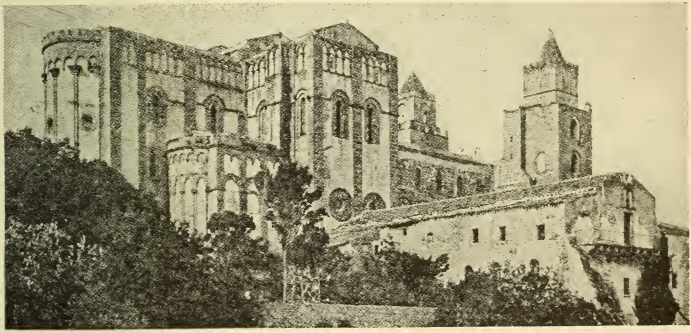
It was perhaps in part due to his Italian minister, Matteo d'Aiello, that the king in the affairs of Italy adopted a

policy which was that of an Italian sovereign in supporting the Lombard League against Frederick Barbarossa; though afterwards—under the influence of Walter Offamil—he allowed the heiress of his kingdom, his aunt Constance, to be married to the emperor's son Henry.

A challenge to all Christendom roused him at last to personal effort. In 1187 Saladin took Jerusalem, and the Third Crusade was proclaimed; William assumed the Cross, and aspired to head the Crusade in person, while the Sicilian fleet relieved Tyre and recaptured Tripoli. But the luxuriance of the South, the enervating consequences of Oriental life and morals, had destroyed the vitality of the House of Hauteville, and William died in November, 1189, at the age of thirty-five.

Against the German husband of Constance the Sicilian national party, led by Matteo d'Aiello, set up as king Tancred, count of Lecce, an illegitimate grandson of the great Roger. Tancred was of minute stature and ill-favored aspect, almost deformed, yet he manfully and ably withstood the Swabian imperial conquest, and it was not until after his death that Henry was crowned king of Sicily at Palermo on Christmas day, 1194. On the following day, at Jesi in the March of Ancona, a son was born to Henry and Constance.

This child was the future emperor, Frederick II (see Chap. 97), with whom the Norman civilization of the South lived a further life, and with whom the whole history of Italy enters upon a new phase.



CEFALU CATHEDRAL: A TRIUMPH OF NATIVE SICILIAN ART

The modern township of Cefalu was founded and fostered by Roger of Sicily, who built the cathedral there as a thank-offering for his preservation from shipwreck in 1129. The cathedral is Norman Romanesque in style, with a Norman portal flanked by massive towers. The decoration of the exterior with interlacing pointed arches is noteworthy. In the interior the twelfth-century mosaics, although impaired by restoration, rank among the finest examples of Sicilian mosaic art.

Photo, Alinari

MASTERPIECE OF NORMAN BUILDING TO THE GLORY OF GOD

No site better adapted to display the majestic grandeur of Norman ecclesiastical architecture could be found than the wooded steep above the river Wear on which Durham Cathedral stands. The two western towers, 144 feet high, were built in the twelfth century, rather earlier than the Galilee chapel (see also page 1532) below and in front of them. The beautiful west window was inserted in the fourteenth century and the great central tower, 218 feet high, was rebuilt in the fifteenth. *Photo, B. C. Clayton*

SOCIAL LIFE IN NORMAN ENGLAND

A RECORD OF THE CHANGES IN OLD ENGLISH SOCIETY WHICH BROUGHT MEDIEVAL ENGLAND INTO BEING

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THE Norman Conquest marks the beginning of the greatest revolution which has ever affected English social life; but this does not mean that the difference between England before and after the Conquest was the difference between anarchy and civilization. The essential features of medieval civilization had arisen in England before the death of Edward the Confessor.

The weakness of the Old English state lay in a different quarter. There were men of high ability among the English magnates, but with few exceptions their powers were spent on personal objects. When all due allowance has been made for the bias of Norman historians, it is impossible to acquit men like Godwin, earl of Wessex, and Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, of a narrow concentration on their own interests. The danger to the state lay in the bitter rivalries which they aroused and in the opportunism which marked their successful careers. And more dangerous than the rivalries of individual persons were the differences of race, of provincial custom and of social order which distinguished one part of England from another.

The one fundamental advantage which remained to the king was the nobility of his descent. Edward the Confessor, ineffective as he might be in action, was still the head of the most ancient family reigning by continuous succession in western Europe. But for this unquestioned priority of descent it is hard to see how the unity of England could have been maintained under weak kings like Ethelred the Unready and Edward the Confessor. To the men of the time kingship was an unquestioned necessity. The men of the Danelaw would rarely look beyond the earls who were their immediate rulers, but they felt that above the earl whom they knew there stood the king whom they rarely, if ever, saw, but whose right they never thought of challenging.

It was the lack of this supreme qualification which formed the one great weakness in the position of William the Conqueror, as it proved fatal to his predecessor, Harold. To the men of the north the illegitimacy of William's birth was not in itself an obstacle to his recognition as king; the chief obstacle was that the dukes of Normandy were by origin only the leaders of an army which had invaded France, and in themselves no nobler than the leaders of the bands whose settlement had created the Danelaw when Alfred was reigning in Wessex. This weakness explains William's insistence upon the thin thread of kinship which connected him with the Old English royal house, and his claim that he had been chosen as heir to England by its last reigning member.

From this point of view, it becomes far easier to understand his devastation of the Anglo-Scandinavian north in the winter of 1069. He was not merely suppressing a rebellion; he was imposing a new line of kings on an unwilling people.

William secured recognition more easily in the rest of England. The rebellions which broke out in the south and west in his earlier years were sporadic, and easily suppressed. Here, moreover, William profited by the fact that he was the claimant recognized by the Church, that his expedition had received papal sanction. Occasionally, indeed, a monastery showed itself unwilling to accept the new king. But, on the whole, the papal authorization which William had received meant his acceptance by the rulers of the greater English churches, and by the very large number of persons who, for various rea-

Norman ecclesiastical architecture is exemplified at its best in the magnificent cathedral church at Durham built by Bishop Carileph in 1093. Choir and transepts are the earliest; but the nave, with its large circular pillars with incised ornament and zigzag moulding, is also massive Norman. The Galilee chapel at the west end of the nave is later Norman work, dating from about 1175.

Very fine Norman architecture is preserved in the nave and transepts of the Priory Church of the Holy Trinity at Christchurch in Hampshire. Norman, too, is the turret at the north-east angle of the north transept, covered with arcading and other ornament. In the nave, of which this is an eastward view, and clerestory there are Early English additions and the choir is Perpendicular. Christchurch Castle, of which there are only fragmentary remains, was built in the time of Henry I.

Photos, Frith

NORMAN ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

EARLY NORMAN-ENGLISH ART

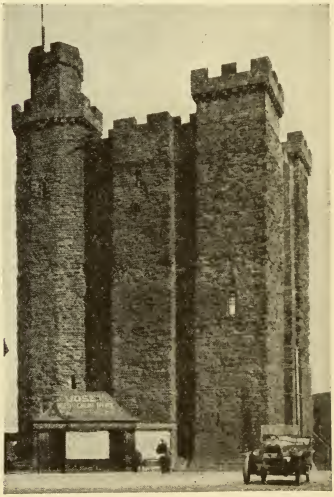
A Norman artist's idea of a coronation is preserved in this picture of the crowning of St. Edmund of East Anglia in 856. The picture is from a manuscript produced at the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds early in the twelfth century.

British Museum

sons, were subject to their influence.

Moreover, it was on the men of southern England that the brunt of the fighting at Hastings had fallen. In particular, the death of King Harold and his brothers Gyrth and Leofwine in the great battle meant that a large number of manors in the south, east and midlands were deprived of their lords. These estates were at the king's disposal, and he could at once place trusted followers of his own in possession of them.

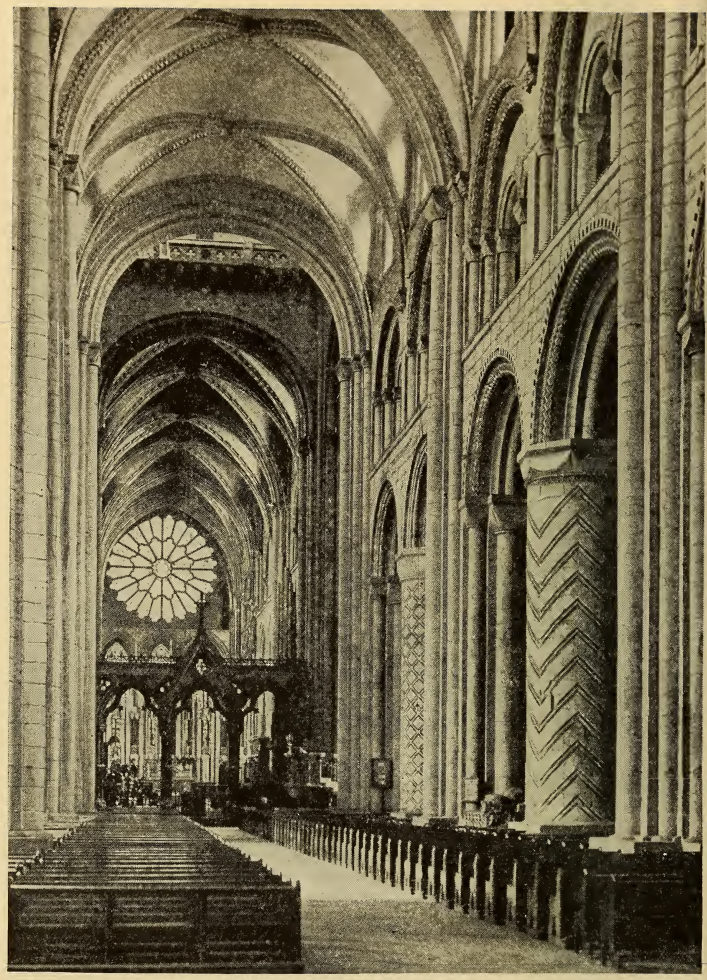
However, these general considerations should not obscure the essential fact that the Conquest was a military enterprise. There can be no question that the view which makes all the subsequent history turn on the battle of Hastings is correct. In securing the results of the battle and in frustrating all attempts to reverse its decision it was the Norman castle which played the determining part. Even before the battle William had thrown up a castle at Hastings itself, and through the obscurity which lies over his activities in England in the important years 1066-1070 he can be seen anticipating rebellions and securing recently won successes by the building of castles at strategical points. In addition to the castles built by William's own orders to dominate towns, secure communications with Normandy or command important roads, the king certainly allowed, and probably encouraged, his leading followers to build similar fortresses for themselves. Before he died each of his greater barons seems to have founded a castle upon his fief, generally at the place which he regarded as its administrative center. Later events were to prove that a real danger to public order lay in this great movement of castle building,



A FINE NORMAN KEEP

The strongest Norman fortress in the north of England was that founded in 1080 on the Tyne, by Robert, the Conqueror's eldest son. On its site Henry II erected the 'New Castle' of which this superb square stone keep still survives.

Photo, Donald McLeish



DIGNITY AND STRENGTH ACHIEVED BY NORMAN BUILDERS

Internally the unbroken vista of Durham Cathedral is immensely impressive. Its total length is 469 feet, the nave being 205 feet long, 80 wide and 72 high. Single circular columns and clustered piers alternate here, with strongly characterized Norman incised ornament and mouldings. Beyond the transeptal crossing the massive choir, the earliest part of the structure, leads to the late thirteenth-century Chapel of the Nine Altars, in which the splendid shrine of St. Cuthbert formerly stood.

Photo, B. C. Clayton

but in the generation of the actual Conquest it was essential for the conquerors to secure themselves in the possession of their new lands, and for kings and barons alike to know that the country was sufficiently guarded with fortified posts against which all native risings would break in vain. Here, at least, the interests of king and baronage were identical, and the king of necessity allowed the future to take care of itself.

ALTHOUGH the origins of the Norman castle are obscure, by the eleventh century it generally conformed to one single well-defined and effective, if elementary, type. It consisted of an earthen mound, overlooking an enclosure at a lower level, the whole work being surrounded by a moat and strengthened by a wooden stockade. In Normandy and England—as, indeed, wherever Norman conquerors moved to occupy fresh lands—the same form of castle—the "motte and bailey" castle, as it is now generally called—appears. The square stone tower, often regarded as distinctive of the Norman castle, comes, as a rule, from the reign of Henry II rather than from the reign of any Norman king. William the Conqueror himself, with all the resources of a conquered country behind him, seems to have built only two stone castles in England: Colchester and the Tower of London.

The castle was a new factor in English social life. Such fortifications of this kind as had arisen in England before the Conquest were almost, without exception, the work of Norman friends of Edward the Confessor, and the innovation found no favor with the native thanes. Like their ancestors, they lived in the villages of which they were the lords, in houses differing in little except size from those of the peasantry around them. It was a natural way in which to live, and as time went on it was adopted again by many, perhaps by most, of the knights of foreign extraction who came to fill the place in the social scale once held by the Old English thanes. The manor house of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries descends, not from the Norman castle, but from the hall of the twelfth-century knight, itself closely resembling that of his Old English predecessor.

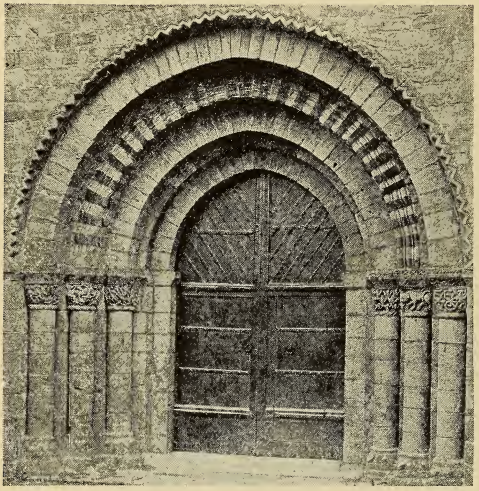
IN the perspective of history the castle looms large. To many of those who have attempted a reconstruction of medieval life its shadow has lain heavily over the whole social scene. Yet in reality one may read innumerable pages of medieval records without learning the name of a single castle. Except in times of civil war—rarer in England than in most countries—or along the remote borders of the kingdom, the ordinary man lived his life in town or country untroubled by the forces of which the castle was the expression in earth and stone. It is in other directions that the form of society which it is convenient to call feudalism left an enduring impression on English history.

CONQUEROR'S CASTLE AT HASTINGS

William's first act on reaching Hastings was to build a castle to secure his retreat should the battle go against him. The Bayeux tapestry here shows the pioneers digging the ditch and throwing up the mound, and the timber tower fitted together for erection within the stockade on the summit.

Most important of the social consequences of the Conquest was the introduction into England of an alien aristocracy and its establishment upon the soil

under conditions which burdened it with definite military duties to be performed when the king should need them. Except for a natural respect for the ancient possessions of the Church, King William undoubtedly considered that all the land of England lay at his disposal. It was for him to decide how much land each of his leading followers should receive, and whether he should receive it in a compact territory, or scattered over many shires. It was also for him to decide the amount of service which should be due in respect of this land.



NORMAN CHURCH ARCHITECTURE ON ENGLISH SOIL

Leominster parish church includes the Norman nave of the old priory church dating from the reign of Henry I. The recessed west door is interesting for the elaborate ornamentation on the capitals of the small shafts from which spring the arches with their bold zigzag moulding. The capitals are all different, showing birds, snakes, acanthus pattern, animals, and grotesque figures half animal, half human.

Photo, B. C. Clayton

All through England this service was normally expressed in terms of the number of knights whom a lord must supply when the king called for them. The number was determined, not by the extent or value of the lord's lands, but by the king's pleasure. The system of knight-service which existed in Norman England goes back, in the last resort, to a series of personal negotiations between William I and his leading followers. The number of knights introduced into England in the Conqueror's reign has often been exaggerated. Few of his greatest tenants owed him as many as sixty knights. The whole feudal army of England in his time cannot have exceeded five thousand knights. It was not the size of this army, but the series of castles on which it rested that made it formidable.

Only by slow degrees, indeed, were the knights who composed this army established in permanent estates of their own. There was no general rule or custom determining the extent of a knight's fee. On the whole, though with innumerable varieties in actual practice, it tended to correspond to a village with its surrounding territory. The Norman knight was undoubtedly the predecessor, he was often the ancestor, of the later lord of the manor, and the village, the agricultural unit, the manor, the unit of private jurisdiction, and the knight's fee, the unit of military service, naturally tended to coincide. Already under the Norman kings there can be discerned the characteristic features of English medieval life—the manor with its court regulating the activities of a village community, the lord's household supported by his demesne lands, the communal organization of the peasantry in the cultivation of their open fields, the scheme of rents and services which bound them to their lord. None of the characteristic features of English medieval life was invented; all were products of slow invisible growth.

MANY of these features are very ancient. In innumerable cases the knight of the eleventh and twelfth centuries must have stood to the men of his village in a relationship identical with that which had united the English thane, his predecessor, to their ancestors. The new factor introduced by the Conquest was the feudal service which united their lord to the greater man of whom he held his land. In place of the traditional services rendered on demand by the thanes of the time before the Conquest to their lords or to the king, there was now introduced a definite relationship created by a precise understanding between the baron who had received his lands from the king and the knight who had received a portion of those lands from the baron in return for a definite military responsibility.

To say that William the Conqueror introduced feudalism into England would be a serious mistake. It is a feudal system resting on a precise definition of service, as distinct from the incoherent relationships of an earlier time, that was the essential innovation introduced by the Conquest.

Further, it was this precision that made possible the change which came over the character of English knight-service within two generations of the Conquest. In essence, knight-service was the duty of supplying a single fully armed and equipped knight to serve for forty days upon the king's summons. So precise an obligation could easily be expressed in terms of money, and was, indeed, being expressed in this way before the end of the eleventh century. When in the course of the following century records become numerous, it can be seen that lords are dealing with the king for a commutation of the military service which they owe him. The payment made was known as scutage.

Very important social consequences came from this change. The king gained, for he could hire knights who would be far more definitely at his disposal than were those supplied by his barons in accordance with the terms of the feudal bargain. To the military tenants themselves the introduction of scutage avoided the dislocation of life caused by obedience to a royal summons and it rapidly became possible for men of less than knightly status to take up land by military service. In the twelfth century estates held by the twentieth, fortieth, even the hundredth part of a knight's service were possible.

MILITARY AND CIVIL DRESS

In the later part of the twelfth century military costume still resembled that of the Conqueror's day, with nosepieced helmet, shield and coat of mail. Civil costume comprised tunic, mantle, chausses, or swathings, and short boots.

British Museum; Harley Roll, Y.6

MANIFESTLY in such cases the military character of the holding was purely nominal. Tenure by the fortieth part of a knight's service meant the payment of the fortieth part of the sum at which a knight's fee was assessed to the scutages levied from time to time, and liability to the incidents and dues which lay upon those who held by military service. If a tenant by the minutest fraction of a knight's service died leaving an heir under age, that heir would be under the wordship of his lord. If he left a daughter as his heir, her marriage would be arranged by the lord. In all cases the heir of a tenant by military service made a payment to his lord upon succeeding to his inheritance. These incidents of tenure kept feudalism alive.

Knight-service was not the only form of tenure which prevailed among the aristocracy of Norman England. Men of knightly descent were always willing to take land in return for service of a non-military character, to become the stewards, butlers, chamberlains, marshals and other household officials of their lords. Tenure by service of this kind, which admitted of infinite variety, was known as tenure by sergeanty.

How important was the household officer is clearly shown by the study of the persons known to have been most constantly present in the company of the Norman and Angevin kings. Great barons and ecclesiastics join them from time to time in their journeys over the country, but it is the officers of their households who form the permanent members of their company. It is the steward, chamberlain, marshal and constable who are present with them from day to day, and deal with the business which falls within a layman's competence. Long after the Norman period had ended, the king's household remained an effective instrument of government, and many of the constitutional struggles of the later Middle Ages turn on the attempts of the more ambitious, scheming members of the baronage to control the household organization.

NORMAN CASTLE AT PEVENSEY

Caesar is said to have landed at Pevensey, in Sussex, and the outer wall, with solid towers of the castle, is of Roman construction. On the nucleus of this old Roman coastal strong-point the Normans in the twelfth century raised a formidable castle with a keep and four massive circular towers.

Photo, Herbert Felton

On no point was there any essential difference between the household of the king and that of one of his greater tenants, earl, bishop or baron. It should be added that on many points there was close similarity between the way in which the magnates governed their fees and the way in which the king governed England.

In Norman England the assembly of a baron's knightly tenants—the court of his honor, as it was called—was a highly important institution. Little is known in detail of its activities, but in incidental passages it can be seen meeting, generally at its lord's castle, the head of his honor, settling the disputes which continually arose between the various tenants of the same fee, receiving its lord's information about any grants of land which he had made within the honor, handling difficult matters such as the partition of estates held of the lord, arranging the incidence of military service among its members. It is in the court of the honor that English feudalism found its truest expression, that feudal principles were least hampered by the complication of ancient custom. There they can be observed in their purest form.

What the court of the honor was doing within individual fees the king's court was doing within a wider sphere. At every emergency which arose during the Norman period the feudal character of the king's court becomes apparent. In a very real sense England itself formed a great "honor," of which the king was lord. His authority over his barons was no more absolute than was their authority over their knights. In either case, decision on any important matter could be reached only after discussion and general agreement. The

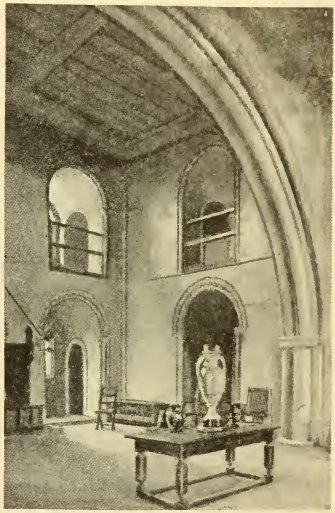
king's court of Norman times was essentially an assembly of equals, meeting to advise one whom they all recognized as their lord but whom, nevertheless, they regarded as one of themselves.

MODERN writers often speak as if throughout the Middle Ages, and not least in the Norman period, there was a continual opposition between the king and the baronage. There are many incidents which on the surface support this view. Yet it will not stand a close examination. For one thing, the men whom the king employed in the government of the country, the early Anglo-Norman sheriffs and justices particularly, were for the most part men of the baronial class. In the second place, in the time which followed the Conquest the interest of the king and the barons was in the last resort identical. The Norman barons established in England owed their lands, powers and privileges to the king. For many years the more responsible members of the baronial class undoubtedly realized that they could not afford, even if they wished, to weaken the power of the king. Rebellions arose from time to time, but they were only incidents, exceptional to the normal course of the history.

BENEATH the aristocracy introduced by the Conquest the life of peasant and townsman continued, in essentials, to follow its ancient course. In a sense, town life underwent greater changes than those which came upon the country. It was varied by the addition of foreign elements, by the establishment of intimate contact with the Continent, and by new ideas of town government introduced from abroad. Yet the changes in town life definitely traceable to the Conquest are fewer than might have been expected.

Conservatism was a very real thing in the towns. It showed itself in a strict regard for ancient legal customs, in insistence on privileges derived from remote antiquity, in a lively consciousness of the dignity of the burgess. It is rather in the creation of new boroughs than in the modification of old ones that the Conquest left its deepest impression on English municipal history.

Sometimes, as at Norwich, a new French borough was created by the side of an ancient English county town, with its own customs of legal procedure and inheritance. More often the new town arose in the open country, at the intersection of important roads or adjacent to a navigable river. Then the establishment of a town beneath a castle was a



INSIDE A FORTRESS HOME

Built at the end of the eleventh century by Aubrey de Vere, Hedingham Castle, in Essex, was one of the strongest private fortresses in England. Its massive Norman keep is still in a condition for occupation.

Photo, F. Bond

natural consequence of the new ideas which the castle represented. It gave protection, its lord could give trading privileges to the townsmen, and they could supply their lord with the produce of distant markets.

In course of time many of these new, private boroughs far outstripped most of the ancient county towns of pre-Conquest England, though the change belongs for the most part to the period subsequent to the Middle Ages. Throughout Norman England the ancient county towns remained by far the greatest trad-

ing centers in the land. Tenacious of their customs, yet willing to receive foreign settlers upon conditions, they present a curious mixture of progressive and conservative tendencies.

To a very great extent they were agricultural communities. The typical burgess of an Anglo-Norman county town was a farmer, with a share in the open arable fields which surrounded the borough and with rights of pasturage over the wastes which lay beyond. Within the town the messuage, the land on which he dwelt, was essentially a farm. The congestion of dwellings which marked many English towns in the later Middle Ages was in great part due to the subdivision of the ancient agricultural messuages, to the building of houses on what had once been gardens, orchards and farmyards. It was only gradually that the commercial and industrial aspects of town life became all-important.

LAY COSTUME IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Ladies wore tight gowns with trailing skirts and sleeves hanging to the ground, and men's mantles, too, were very long. Peasants, like the two shepherds (right), wore loose tunics and cloaks caught at the shoulder by a brooch. Hats and caps of many different shapes were worn by all classes of the community.

British Museum; Cotton MSS. Nero C. iv

Much of the earlier history of English towns is still obscure. It can just be seen that there was once a time when their defences had played an important part in protecting the land against Scandinavian or British invaders. Before the Conquest their military value had become small, and it is as a market center that the borough of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is most clearly differentiated from the village. It was important that a trader should produce the testimony of responsible persons to show that he had come honestly by the goods he sold, and it was within a borough that this testimony could most easily be had. Within the borough, again, mints were established—the relative importance of eleventh-century boroughs can best be estimated by observing the number of moneyers who worked in them.

From a remote time the Old English kings had seen the necessity of securing the highways which led from borough to borough. An attack upon travellers passing upon such highways was one of the gravest offences known to Anglo-Norman law. Upon the market itself there lay a special peace, broken only under heavy penalties. Moreover, the fact that the men who formed the borough community, unlike the tenants of a rural manor, were not the men of any single lord, had long before the Conquest caused the appearance of a borough court, in which disputes could be settled expeditiously.

During the whole Norman period, as for centuries before and afterwards, the village was the basis of English social life. Around the group of houses which formed the core of the community stretched the wide arable "fields" of the village. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the custom was for half of this arable territory to lie fallow each year. All the arable area was divided into strips varying much in area but generally approximating to the quarter of an acre. Their usual character, their length and sinuosity, can be learned from their survival in the "ridge and furrow" still

to be discerned in grass land which in the Middle Ages had been under the plough. It is only rarely that any regular sequence can be discovered in the distribution of strips in a twelfth-century field, and the same person might well hold four or more of them in a compact block. On the other hand, there is no mistaking the prevalent feeling that the arable holdings within a village should be standardized.

A STANDARD holding materially facilitated the apportionment of service due to the lord and of taxation due to the king, and the tendency, therefore, appears at an early date for holdings of less extent than the average to bear some simple relation to it. Beside a full holding of thirty acres, there would exist a half holding of fifteen. It is only in exceptional regions that this sort of standardization was abandoned. Naturally, in the course of time the ancient holdings tended to be broken up. Even in the twelfth century land was a marketable commodity, and the prosperous villager would lay holding to holding and acre to acre. Nevertheless, the ancient system retained considerable vitality throughout the Middle Ages, and in many parts survived to the eighteenth century.

Of hardly less importance to the village community was the common meadow. Often redistributed annually by lot, it was generally shared among the villagers in proportion to the extent of their arable holdings. The same principle governed the rights of pasture enjoyed by the villagers over the village wastes. Only when the pasturage was sufficient for all conceivable requirements, a condition rarely fulfilled, was the villager without a share in the village arable allowed rights of common over the village waste. Such villagers were, in any case, few.

Regulation by common consent was needed for such a system. Agriculture in an ordinary village under the Norman kings, as for long thereafter, was essentially co-operative. The great plough team—usually, it would seem, of eight oxen—was composed of beasts supplied by a number of different villagers. Throughout the village the interests of one man were so closely bound up with those of his neighbors that there was no room for the dissentient. On the other had, the difference between the seasons of one year and another, the occasional necessity for common action such as a piece of drainage, compelled the villagers to arrive at a common understanding from time to time, and periodical meetings of villagers—township moots, as they may be called—were created at a very early date. The modern by-law goes back to the regulations passed by the men of Anglo-Norman villages for

ANGLO-NORMAN WAYFARERS

With the exception of poor people, who perforce had to fare afoot, virtually all travelling in Norman times was done on horseback. Pack horses carried most of the baggage and merchandise.

British Museum; Cotton MSS. Nero C. iv

the management of their common agricultural concerns.

England and Normandy seem to have reached a similar stage of economic development in the late eleventh century. In both countries the fundamental peasant class was composed of men who in return for their holdings were bound to fulfil a regular and customary course of labor service on their lord's land. For a number of days in each week, generally three or four, their services were at the disposal of their lord for whatever form of work he might choose to appoint. In addition to this regular labor, the tenant of this class was required to help his lord when extra work was necessary.

BEYOND all this, he was required to make various payments to his lord representing, it would seem, a return for

such advantages as the right of taking wood for the repair of his house or for fuel. If he left his land without his lord's licence, he could be pursued and brought back again; the king would instruct his sheriffs to help in his capture. When he gave his daughter in marriage, his lord took money from him, the "merchet" of innumerable medieval surveys. Everything seems to point to the unfreedom of the tenant of this class, the villein of Anglo-Norman land law.

Unfree he was, but it is easy to exaggerate his degradation. Recent work emphasizes the important fact that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries no strict line was ever drawn between the services of the villein and those of men whose personal freedom was unquestioned. There was no form of agricultural labor, no type of payment in kind or in cash, which was distinctive of villeinage. It was common for free peasants, men of considerable local standing, to pay merchet. They were often subject to the burden of week-work, they were generally expected to assist their lord at hay-time and harvest. Moreover, the weekly labor exacted from the unfree could in practice be compounded for by a remarkably small payment in money.

ROYAL INTEREST IN CHURCH BUILDING

This illustration, depicting King Offa conferring with his architect over the building of a cathedral church, was drawn by, or under the direct supervision of, that industrious chronicler Matthew Paris, about 1240-50. It furnishes some highly interesting details of tools and mechanical appliances in medieval times.

British Museum; MS. of Matthew Paris's 'Vita Duorum Offarum'

It was in his lord's court that the villein, litigated with his fellows, and that the matters which affected his daily life were settled. The manorial courts of Norman England have sometimes been regarded as instruments of oppression, as the means by which alien lords imposed their will upon a reluctant native population. That the manorial court maintained the lord's control over his men, free and unfree alike, is certain. It was there that breaches of agricultural custom were punished, that fines were imposed, to the lord's profit, on those who broke the peace, that the established course of labor service was maintained. Nevertheless, the collective opinion of the manorial peasantry found its expression in the manorial court. It was the custodian of the custom of the manor, that body of ancient practice which the lord himself might not depart from. It was the means by which the routine of the time before the Conquest was preserved against the aggression of French lords and their stewards. It was a conservative force, and it represented to the master of the village community the stubborn opposition of its members to any departure from the ancient ways.

In any general discussion of the peasantry of Norman England it is all-important to remember that no generalizations will cover the whole of the country. In particular, it is essential to remember that England north of the Welland was following a social and economic development very different from that which prevailed in the south and west. In the regions which had been the scene of Danish settlement in the ninth century, in such a county as Lincolnshire, the free peasant, the socman of Anglo-Norman

law, gave a character of independence to local society which was rarely present in the manorialized south. The typical peasant of this region was personally free, able to alienate his land, and responsible for the taxes at which his holding was assessed. As a rule he was free from the burden of week-work. His agricultural services were generally confined to work on his lord's home farm at the busy seasons of the year; his rents in money or kind were light.

ABOVE all, owing to facts of very ancient history, the manors of this region were generally far less compact than those of the south. The typical Lincolnshire manor—and Lincolnshire was the richest of English counties in the Conqueror's reign—consisted of a lord's house with a home farm, a demesne, which maintained his household and on which such of the local peasantry as were personally unfree were bound to services of the kind which has been described. Its distinctive feature lay in the distribution over the surrounding villages of a considerable number of free tenants, bound to the central manor by the duty of attending its court, and paying their customary rents there, but free from all the seignorial control which governed the lives of the villeins within a compact estate. Everything points to the conclusion that the free peasants of northern and eastern England represent the descendants of the Danish settlers of the ninth century. In the Norman period, and for long afterwards, Scandinavian personal names were commonly used among them. Their terms of land measurement were mostly of Scandinavian origin, their language was an Anglo-Scandinavian dialect. They were intensely conservative, to which, indeed, is due the preservation of the evidence which proves their origin. In every way the remarkable forms of local association which arose among them stand in contrast to the regular manorial system which dominates modern conceptions of Anglo-Norman society.

Both forms of rural society, Anglo-Scandinavian and English, manifested great power of resistance to French innovations. It is, indeed, doubtful whether there was any general wish on the part of barons and knights to modify the agrarian systems which they found in England. William I insisted that his followers should occupy, with respect to the estates which he gave them, the exact position held before the Conquest by their English owners, and a similar tendency to maintain the existing position seems to have governed the relations of the new aristocracy to the peasants beneath them. The strongest force tending to the modification of existing ways of life was the new forest law introduced to govern the districts set apart by the king for his hunting.

Royal forests in the twelfth century covered a very wide area. Most of them included villages of the normal type; none of them were stretches of uninhabited waste, though it was naturally the poorer land which gave the best opportunity for the king's hunting. Within a forest the ordinary course of agricultural life was continually affected by the forest law. The prohibition of killing any beast of the chase was only one, and not the most irksome, of the restrictions which lay on the dwellers within a royal forest. No fences might be erected which would exclude the deer, no timber or brushwood cut down without the licence of the king's foresters.

NO doubt, there was justification for the numerous complaints of harshness and cruelty in the preservation of the forests recorded by early writers, but it should be remembered that there was another aspect of the forest. Within its boundaries the peasantry enjoyed very profitable rights of common. They could obtain the king's leave to enclose portions of the forest for temporary cultivation, on condition that they were thrown back again into the forest after the expiry of a specified term of years. In course of time they came to regard themselves as something of an aristocracy compared with the men who lived outside the forest or in its purlieu.

When all allowance has been made for the wide area over which the forest law extended, it remains an exceptional interference with the traditional habits of rural life. English society was ancient enough and sufficiently organized to withstand even the tremendous shock of a successful foreign invasion. The changes

which came upon it as a result of that event came gradually, through the interplay of foreign and native ideas. For the most part their operation can be traced only with difficulty, by the slow collection and analysis of scattered records. To this obscurity there is one great exception. The changes which came over the organization of the Church in England as a result of the Conquest are known with a fullness to which there is no parallel in the secular sphere. They also came gradually, and met with obdurate resistance from those to whom ancient ways were dear. But there is no mistaking their tendency, or the ultimate completeness of their victory.

The great task which lay before the reforming party in the eleventh-century Church was to bring about its emancipation from secular control. Owing in great measure to the character of Edward the Confessor, the Old English Church had been free from the grosser abuses which flourished elsewhere in the West. Edward had been interested in the character of those whom he had appointed to high ecclesiastical office, and had done all in his power to give an opportunity in England to individual foreign reformers. He had been hampered by the prejudices of a strong party among the English nobility, and in the aggregate he achieved little.

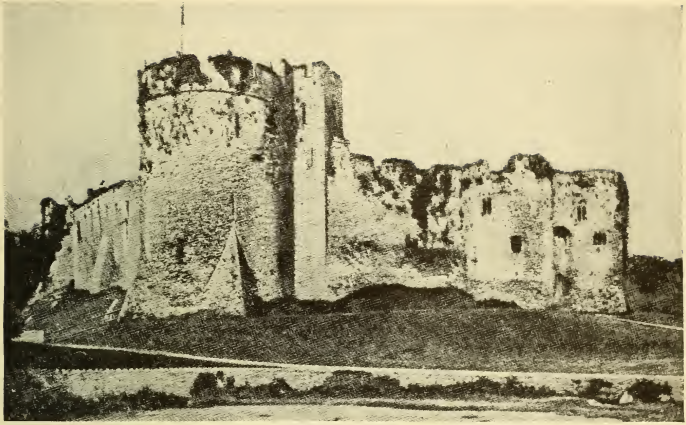
For the future of the Church in England it was a fortunate circumstance that the man who overthrew the Old English state was also a man of religious life, strict personal morality and a lively sense of the duty of the king in regard to the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline. Few of his successors, none of his own family, reached his standard in these matters, but the example he had set retained its force. The reform of the Church in England was, under him, an alliance between Church and State for the correction of abuses condemned by the king as strongly as by any ecclesiastical authority. In making possible the initiation of a policy of reform, William was paying the debt which he owed to the Papacy for its support in 1066.

In the eleventh century the church within the boundaries of a manor was still regarded as a source of monetary profit to the manorial lord. To the clerks who compiled Domesday Book the manorial church and the manorial mill were on very much the same footing. Both contributed something to the sum at which the yearly value of the manor might be estimated. The lord nominated the priest whose duty it would be to serve the church, and he could bargain with him for a yearly payment in respect of the yearly revenues of the church, the dues and offerings of the parishioners.

Moreover, no law or custom forbade parish clergy to marry, and there are clear traces of a tendency in the twelfth century towards the establishment of hereditary succession to benefices. The authority of the bishop had fallen very low, he had little or nothing of the elaborate organization which his successors developed for the administration of their dioceses, and the efficacy of his rule depended entirely on his own character and energy.

Under such conditions the Church was subject to the lay world in a way which ran counter to all the ideas of eleventh-century reformers. It was at this point that the character of William I was all-important. It would have been easy for a king in his position to have feudalized the Church, to have sanctioned existing tendencies and allowed his followers to use them for their own advantage. That he chose the harder course and lent the power of the crown to the improvement of ecclesiastical order is one of his clearest titles to greatness.

He made no revolutionary attack on the existing system, and many of its features survived for centuries. The lay patron still exists today, a survival of the order which William found established in England. It was long before a permanent and adequate provision was assured to every parish priest, but the first steps in this direction were taken very soon after the Conquest. Laws were passed against the marriage of clergy, but their enforcement was difficult. The married clergy were protected by a society which considered their position honorable, and the attempts of twelfth-century bishops and archdeacons to compel married priests to put away their wives met with natural and violent opposition.



William FitzOsborn, earl of Hereford in the eleventh century, built the castle at Chepstow to defend the Roman road into South Wales. The castle, a splendid structure covering about three acres, occupies a commanding site on a rock rising steeply from the River Wye. It was almost totally reconstructed in the thirteenth century, but parts of the original building are still extant in the keep.

Courtesy of Great Western Railway

Domesday Book records that the manor of Rising in Norfolk belonged to Archbishop Stigand, from whom it passed to Odo of Bayeux. In 1088 it was granted to William de Albini, whose son built the castle for which the now modest village of Castle Rising is famous. Its massive square keep, on a mound overlooking the Wash, is enclosed within artificial ramparts of earth and a dyke and is in fairly good preservation, and the Norman carving, especially about the entrance, is exceptionally fine.

MASSIVE MONUMENTS OF NORMAN MIGHT IN ENGLAND

Photochrom

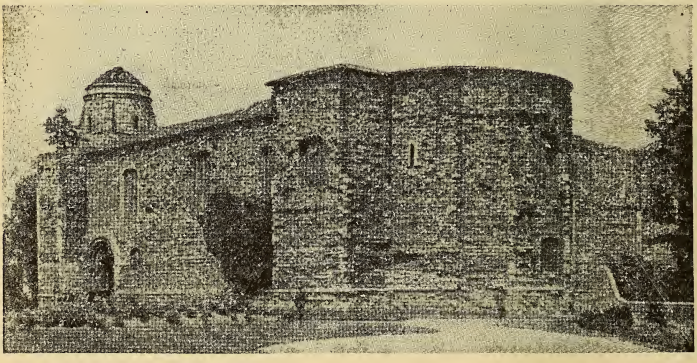
CLERGY OF NORMAN TIMES

After the Conquest there was a marked quickening of religious energy. Many new churches were built and the numbers of the clergy and monks were largely increased by men who took their calling seriously.

British Museum; Cotton MSS. Nero C. iv

The movement which was to cover England with new religious houses began within a decade of the Conquest, but had gathered little momentum until the twelfth century was well advanced. Its importance in the history of the English Church has always been recognized. The part taken by kings, barons and knights in monastic foundation and endowment stands in no further need of elaboration; it is of great interest to observe that the new ideas affected the peasantry as no religious movement had ever affected them within recorded history. In the establishment of the Cistercian and Augustinian orders under Henry I and his successors a very material part was taken by men of undistinguished rank.

Perhaps it is in the northern parts of England that this movement finds its most interesting expression, for there men whose names prove ancient peasant ancestry can be seen detaching acres from tenements formed by Scandinavian invaders in the ninth century to endow new religious houses founded by men whose immediate predecessors had conquered the land under William of Normandy. In this work, more clearly than elsewhere, there can be traced the effective expression of that union of Frenchmen and Englishmen which created the medieval English state, and is the lasting achievement of the monarchy founded by William I.



NORMAN MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

Colchester is one of the only two stone castles built by William the Conqueror, the White Tower in the Tower of London being the other. The keep, built with a free use of Roman materials, measures 152 x 112 feet, with walls from 11 to 30 feet thick, and is the largest Norman keep in England, having nearly twice the area of that of the Tower of London.

Photo, Donald McLeish